

# THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

## STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

### PART I

### COMMUNISM OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

#### SECTION E

#### THE COMINTERN AND THE CPUSA



MAY 29, 1956  
(Original Release Date)

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House  
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Washington, D. C.

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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# Union Calendar No. 838

84 <sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS } 2 <sup>d</sup> Session }	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES {	REPORT No. 2244 }
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THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY  
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SECTION E  
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of the Union and ordered to be printed

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MR. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Un-American  
Activities, submitted the following

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[Pursuant to H. Res. 5, 84th Cong.]



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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.
- \* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

#### 17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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## SECTION E: THE COMINTERN AND THE CPUSA

*Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.—Joseph Stalin.*

Documents assembled in the present section are transitional to material to be included in part II: Communist Activities in the United States. They consist of (1) directives sent from the Communist International or the U. S. S. R. to the United States; (2) reports made by American Communists to the Communist International or to the U. S. S. R.

### ORGANIZED COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

In a separate publication, this committee has assembled the so-called constitutions of the various Communist Parties which have existed in this country from 1919 to the present.<sup>1</sup> Until the Voorhis Act of October 17, 1940, frightened the comrades into "disaffiliation" from the Communist International (this section, exhibit No. 21), the various parties openly admitted their allegiance to that organization.

Beginning in November 1940 the constitution of the CPUSA made no reference to affiliation with the Communist International. At the same time, it indulged in some very thinly concealed Aesopian doubletalk (sec. A, exhibit No. 7). Combined with Seventh World Congress allusions to national traditions, the following preamble reaffirmed the attachment of the CPUSA to the doctrine and directives of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

### CPUSA NOVEMBER 1940 CONSTITUTION

#### PREAMBLE

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:**

**By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.**

<sup>1</sup> *Organized Communism in the United States*, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 83d Cong., 2d sess., August 10, 1953.

**To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America establishes the basic laws of its organization in this Constitution.**

More advanced use of Aesopian deception can be found in the two subsequent constitutions. That of May 1944 was adopted by the Communist Political Association, the name which the CPUSA used from May 1944 until July 1945.

#### **COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION MAY 1944 CONSTITUTION**

##### **PREAMBLE**

**The Communist Political Association is a nonparty organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.**

**It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.**

**It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy against all the enemies of popular liberties.**

**It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed, or color.**

**It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American traditions and character.**

**For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.**

#### **CPUSA JULY 1945 CONSTITUTION**

##### **PREAMBLE**

**The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers, and all who labor by hand and brain against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the advanced party of the working class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.**

**The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democ-**

racy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national, and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism, and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the working class, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom, and social progress.

The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.

The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science, and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

In the struggle for democracy, peace, and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass, and the great working-class traditions of Sylvis, Debs, and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.

#### COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

For the first 10 years, the American Communist movement was embroiled in many factional disputes. Rival parties struggled violently for official recognition by the Communist International.<sup>1</sup> In May 1929, Stalin personally put an end to this factionalism (this section, exhibit No. 10). Some of the expelled comrades formed splinter groups, most of which eventually disintegrated.<sup>2</sup>

For various reasons, the main line Communist Party has traveled under a series of names.<sup>3</sup>

Communist Party of America: September 1919 to April 1923.

Communist Labor Party of America: September 1919 to May 1920.

United Communist Party of America: May 1920 to May 1921.

Workers Party of America: December 1921 to August 1925.

Workers (Communist) Party of America: August 1925 to March 1929.

Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA): March 1929 to May 1944.

Communist Political Association: May 1944 to July 1945.

CPUSA: July 1945 to date.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York, Dutton, 1940, passim. James Oneal and G. A. Worner, *American Communism*, New York, Dutton, 1947, ch. III-XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Organized Communism*, pp. 141-143. Albert Weisbord, *The Conquest of Power*, New York, Covied-Friedo, 1937, ch. XLVII. For a time Weisbord had his own splinter group (p. 1110).

<sup>3</sup> *Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-1954*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., January 20, 1955.

## AGENT OF A FOREIGN POWER

Several short publications dealing with the relationship between the U. S. S. R., the Communist International, and the CPUSA can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. These House and Senate reports briefly but adequately outline leading aspects of the Communist conspiracy against the United States.

1. *The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power.* Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, 1st session, April 1, 1947.
2. *Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence.* Committee on Un-American Activities, 80th Congress, 2d session, May 11, 1948.
3. *The Communist Party of the United States of America—Handbook for Americans.* Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 84th Congress, 1st session, December 21, 1955.

## AMERICAN BRANCHES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In time, the Comintern managed to establish many hundreds of sections and branches in the United States. The following list submitted in testimony given before this committee outlined some of the better known departments and bureaus of the Communist International, together with their American affiliates.<sup>5</sup> In order to make a proper evaluation of the organizations indicated in the following list, the student should consult pertinent references contained in the *Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-54*.

<i>Internationals</i>	<i>American sections</i>
Third International.....	Communist Party, U. S. A. (and affiliated movements).
International Committee of Negro Workers (section of Reds International of Labor Unions).	League of Struggle for Negro Rights (American Negro Congress).
Proletarian Student Organization.....	National Student League (now American Student Union).
International Union of Revolutionary Writers.	League of American Writers; John Reed Clubs of U. S. A.; Revolutionary Writers Federation of America; Hungarian Proletarian Writers League, etc.
Third International Broadcasting League.	Workers Short-Wave Clubs of U. S. A.
International Red Sports Union.....	Labor Sports Union of U. S. A.; Workers Gymnastic and Sports Alliance; Sport Aces Youth Clubs, etc.
International of Young Pioneers.....	Young Pioneers of America; Finnish Workers Pioneers; Nature Friend Scouts, etc.
Workers' International Relief (Red International Aid).	Workers' International Relief; W. I. R. Scouts, etc.
International Friends of Soviet Union...	Friends of the Soviet Union; American Council on Soviet Union.
International Union of Revolutionary Theatres.	League of Workers Theatres of U. S. A.; Workers' Dance League; Film and Photo League; Workers' Laboratory Theatre; Blue Blouses; Dance Spartakaid; Proletarian Dramatic Society of America; Drama League of America; Rebel Players; Theatre of Action; New Theatre Club; Russian Workers' Dramatic Club; Prolet-Buhn; Artes, etc.
International War Veterans.....	Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League; National Liaison Committee; Veterans' Rank and File Committee, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States.* Special Committee on Un-American Activities, H. of R., 75th Cong., 3d sess., vol. 1, August 16, 1938, pp. 298-300.

*Internationals*

Agit-Prop Department, Third (Communist) International.

International Communist Party Schools.

Young Communist International.....

Red International Labor Unions.....

International Red Aid.....

World Committee Against War and Fascism (now the World League for Peace and Democracy).

League Against Imperialism (International Class War Prisoners Aid).

League for Human Rights.....

International Anti-Fascist League.....

International Committee for Political Prisoners.

Farmers and Peasants International (Krestintern) (International Peasants Council).

International Workers Order.....

International of the Godless.....

International Committee of Women..

Sovkino.....

Educational Workers League.....

Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.

International of Seamen and Harbor Workers.

State Central Corporation of U. S. S. R. (Central Corporation for Industrial Export).

International Workers' Cultural Federation.

International Workers' Soccer League..

Soviet State Travel Company.....

I. C. O. R. ....

International Music Bureau.....

International Association for Social Insurance.

*American sections*

Agit-Prop. Dept., C. P., U. S. A. (over 600 dailies, weeklies, monthly magazines, and newspapers); millions of pamphlets and books; Workers Book Shops; International Publishers; Workers' Library Publishers; International Book Shops, etc.

Workers' School of U. S.; Workers' Camps, etc.

Young Communist League of U. S.

Trade Union Unity League of U. S., (now many rank and file committees in C. I. O. labor unions); Pan-Pacific Union Secretariat; A. F. L. Rank and File Committees; National Unemployed Councils (now Workers' Alliance).

International Labor Defense; Scottsboro Committee; Mooney-Billings Defense Committee; Herndon Defense Committee; Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee; Gastonia Defense Committee; I. L. D. Young Defenders; W. I. R.

American League Against War and Fascism (Congress Against War and Fascism) (now American League for Peace and Democracy); Jewish Workers' Clubs; World Youth Congress.

Anti-Imperialist League of U. S.

League for Human Rights.

Anti-Fascist League.

Committee for Political Prisoners.

United Farmers' League; Farmers' Educational League.

International Workers Order (I. W. O.), fraternity, schools, scouts, clubs, and camps.

Proletarian Anti-Religious League of U. S.

Women's League of America; Shoppers' Committee; Anti-High Cost of Living Committee; United Council of Working Class Women.

Amkino, Garrison Films Co.

Educational Workers League.

American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.

Marine Workers' Industrial League (now rank and file committee in C. I. O.).

Amtorg; Torgsin; Amkniga, etc.

Workers Cultural Federation of U. S. A.

Workers' Soccer League of America.

Inter-Tourists; World Tourists.

I. C. O. R.

Workers' Music League; Workers' Chorus.

National Committee for Social and Unemployment Insurance.

*Internationals*

State Publishing House of U. S. S. R.  
Moscow Summer Institute (Anglo-American Section).

T. A. S. S. ....  
(VOKS) All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.  
All-Union Western Chamber of Commerce.  
International Union of Revolutionary Artists.  
International Women's Secretariat.....  
International Battalion of Spain.....

Council of Working Women.....  
International Cooperative Alliance.....  
Central Radio System.....  
International Coordination and Information Commission in Support of Spanish Republic.  
International Secretariat of World Youth Congress.  
Red's Sports International.....  
World Student Association for Peace and Culture.

*American sections*

Bookniga Corporation.  
Institute of International Education, Inc. (American summer school in Moscow); Intourist.  
Soviet Union Telegraph Agency.  
American Russian Institute (associated with it is Open Road, Inc.).  
American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.  
League of American Writers; American Revolutionary Writers' Congress.  
Women's Commission, C. P., U. S. A.  
Lincoln Battalion; Washington Battalion; Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade.  
United Council of Working Women.  
Cooperatives of U. S. A.  
Workers' Short Wave Clubs.  
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.  
Second World Youth Congress.  
Labor Sports Union of America.  
American Student Union.

## WHY PEOPLE GO COMMUNIST

So alien is Communist ideology to normal American ways of thinking that even today many people find it hard to understand what moves some of their fellow citizens to become party members or party sympathizers. The following outline, recently published by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, should prove helpful in analyzing the Communist mentality.

## Guardpost for Freedom

## VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

*American Sovereignty Campaign*

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## WHY PEOPLE GO COMMUNIST

## MOTIVES WHICH INFLUENCE PARTY MEMBERS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS

Communism can be fought effectively only if we understand the true nature of the Communist Party, just what a Communist is, and the motives that impel people to become Communists. The "Handbook For Americans" recently released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is an excellent exposition of the nature of the Communist Party, what it is and how it works. The purpose of this study is to treat briefly the impulses that make people go Communist.

Before trying to analyze these motives, we must know exactly what a Communist is. Many people believe that only those who hold membership cards in the Communist Party are Communists. Others believe that anyone who is "very radical" is a Communist. Both of these views are wrong.

Radicals—people who disagree violently with generally accepted political, social, moral and economic ideas—existed long before Communism came into being. They will exist long after Communism is a thing of the past. "Left" radicalism may lead to temporary affilia-

tion with the Communist movement. But a true radical is so much an independent thinker, a nonconformist, that he will never remain a Communist. Communism demands complete conformity in thinking and thorough subjection of the individual to the will of the Party. *A real radical, by his very nature, cannot and will not accept Communism.*

The Communist Party, as a protective device, has not issued cards or books to any of its members since 1948. And even during and prior to 1948, when the great majority of Communists carried Party membership cards, many members did not have them. These people were thoroughly Communist. They believed in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and accepted the dictates of the Communist Party on all matters. Because of the sensitivity of the positions they held, however, the Party decided that it must never risk their exposure by issuing membership cards to them, even under fictitious names.

As a number of former high-ranking Communists have testified, *a Communist is anyone who accepts the discipline of the Communist Party.* He may or may not be radical. He may or may not have had a Party membership card in the past.

### SYMPATHIZERS

In addition to Party members, there are many kinds of "Communist sympathizers". A Communist sympathizer is a person who approves and, in many cases, carries out part of the program of the Communist Party. He may endorse just a small segment of the Party program, or he may go all out for it, only stopping short of actual membership. The latter type of sympathizer is also known as a "fellow traveler".

### COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

There are different kinds or "layers" of Communist organization with which the average American may come in contact. They fall into three main groups: the Party itself, Communist front organizations, and Communist-infiltrated groups.

No less an authority than Stalin described the relationship of the Party to its front organizations as that of the sun to the planets. Just as the sun radiates energy to the planets, the Communist Party supplies the directive force to its front or "mass" organizations. Naturally, the farther away any organization is from the Party, the less force or control the Party can exercise over it. For this reason, some front organizations are less "red" than others.

When Communists cannot take over an organization, they try to infiltrate it in order to exercise some control over its policies. Strictly speaking, an infiltrated organization is not a front. From the viewpoint of Communist influence, however, it becomes very important. Communists try to inject more and more Communist energy into its activities until it finally becomes a front in the true sense of the word.

### BACK TO MOTIVATIONS

Keeping in mind these definitions of the various kinds of Communist personalities and organizations, we may now try to answer the original question: Just why do people go Communist? Our answers

will apply to both the Party member and the sympathizer, since the motives are similar in each case.

A Party member may have more reasons for accepting Moscow's line than the sympathizer and will, in all probability, feel deeper conviction about the necessity of doing so. But the reasons which drive sympathizers into front organizations, while usually weaker in number and degree, are fundamentally the same in kind as those that drive others into the Party itself.

## TWO MAIN REASONS

All motivations that impel people to become Communists can be classified under two main headings:

I. Misguided sympathy for oneself or others (honest reasons).

II. Excessive personal ambition (a dishonest reason).

Every other reason can be fitted under these two headings. People follow the Party line either because they believe they can obtain justice for themselves or others by doing so, or because they are seeking power.

### I. "HONEST" REASONS

Many people who get mixed up in the Communist movement do so for more or less honest reasons. Please note that qualification: "more or less". No motive for following the Party line can be regarded as completely "honest".

Troubled people often take a short-range view of their problems. They do not think their actions through to their logical consequences. This lack of prudence common to troubled people is especially prevalent among the type of people who fall for the Party line.

It should be kept in mind that while people may first join the Communist movement for more or less honest reasons, they inevitably become corrupt if they remain in it for any length of time. The indifference of the American Communist Party to any genuine redress of wrongs is such that, after a while, even the most excitable person must catch on to the deception. He or she will then either get out of the movement or remain in it for reasons which cannot be called "honest".

#### *1. Desire to correct an injustice done to oneself*

It is not dishonest to seek after justice and equal treatment under law. People who suffer injustice contrary to the law of the nation may, in their distress, imprudently turn their attention to a group which promises speedy relief, without inquiring into the organization's ulterior purposes.

#### *2. Desire to redress wrongs done to others*

Many charitable people want to help others less fortunate than themselves. In order to accommodate these eager souls, the Communist Party has built a system of front organizations espousing numerous apparently worthy causes.

It is easy to laugh off these fronts as obvious hoaxes that ensnare only emotional do-gooders. But the fact is that many of the causes which the Party appears to support through these organizations are worthy of the efforts of honest people. The Party manipulates its fronts so cleverly that, for a while at least, even well-educated people may not detect their real objectives.



### **3. *Confused protest***

Uneducated or perplexed people, taking a short-range view, may support the Communist movement out of a desire to protest against the seeming failure or inactivity of established, respectable organizations.

The Communist strategy of exploiting the protest vote of confused workers and peasants paid high dividends in Europe after the war. Because revived prewar methods failed to restore immediate prosperity in some countries, Communist short-range appeals to worker frustration received a ready ear. The Communists, by claiming to offer a quick and easy solution to all problems, gave the people an outlet through which they could express their dissatisfaction with what appeared to be the failure of legitimate political parties.

### **4. *Being useful in life***

A legitimate goal of every normal person is to be useful in life. Unfortunately, less talented people are too often brushed aside in the fierce competition of human society. Success should have its rewards—but the high achievements of a few should not be idolized to the neglect of the many who lack the opportunities and talents which are essential to success.

Through its front organizations, the Communist Party has shown great skill in utilizing the neglected talents of "little people". Such lowly folk are given assignments proportionate to their ability. The task itself may be slight, but the Communist sympathizer is made to feel that he is important, that he is contributing to the *future* welfare of humanity. From being a "nobody" in the established systems of modern life, the Communist sympathizer quickly becomes a "somebody" in the fight for "socialism and progress". And if he eventually joins the Party itself, he receives an elaborate education in techniques of self-expression and revolutionary leadership.

### **5. *Desire for social participation***

People are not naturally hermits. They have an inborn desire to belong to human groups, to associate with other human beings. We must carefully observe that this desire for association with other people is not necessarily the same as the ambition to be useful in life. What is referred to under this number is not the desire to be of service, but merely to belong.

By setting up a network of fronts that embraces many different fields—foreign relations, civil liberties, labor, politics, veterans affairs, music, the theater, photography, etc—the Communist Party has been able to capitalize on the natural desire of people with varying interests to "belong", to get together with others, especially those having interests similar to their own.

### **6. *Opposition to Hitler***

One of the most effective tricks the Communists ever pulled was to make it appear that they were the most energetic opponents of Hitler. During the late Thirties, some people who were rightfully distraught at the Nazi persecutions came to think of activity in certain Communist fronts as the most effective means of fighting Hitler, Nazism and Fascism.

## II. MOTIVES BASED ON EXCESSIVE SELF-INTEREST

Not even a short-range point of view can make the following list of motives honest. Their inspiration and driving force is inordinate self-interest. God has endowed men with certain talents and capacities which they may—and should—develop. Such self-improvement, however, must be effected within the framework of honest society. A person has a right to “get ahead in life”, but he must respect the rights of others in doing so.

Many people who associate themselves with the Communist movement do so not in order to help humanity, but to further their own interests at the expense, and even through the extinction, of others.

*1. Lust for power*

Some people have an intense passion to dominate. This aggressive trait manifests itself in many different ways, one of which is attachment to the Communist movement. The Party cultivates in its members the idea that they, and they alone, have a preferred right to reshape the destiny of the human race.

Anyone who has ever had personal contact with well-indoctrinated Communists cannot but be amazed at their insolence and contempt for other human systems which have passed the test of time. Communists know better than anyone else. They *know* that Communist ideology can remake human nature, that Soviet biologists can change the laws of animal heredity. This sense of unlimited superiority intoxicates some people who have contracted the fever for power over their fellow men.

In all probability, lust for power constitutes the strongest of all motives with the top command of the Communist movement. These Party leaders work extremely hard. They also risk much, even their lives. But in exchange, they enjoy the delirium of “re-creating” lesser people and, sometimes, of annihilating millions of them. What greater satisfaction can the tyrant who lusts for power over his fellow man hope for?

*2. Frustrated capitalists*

This is the principal motive of the superior-feeling Johnny-Come-Latelys who want the shortest and surest way to the top. These ambitious people may convince themselves that their intentions are altruistic, that they will help humanity once they get the right position. Actually, however, self-interest, conceit and impatience are their real motives for joining the Communist movement.

Many students who prattle the Marxist line during their college days find it distasteful after they have found a good job. Vested interests make people cautious. It is better to have comfortable security within the capitalist system than to live in hopes of someday being a commissar in a Soviet “paradise”.

Nevertheless, because not every Marxist-minded college student will be able to find a “bourgeois” position that satisfies him, the Party can count on a steady flow of recruits from the ivy-covered halls of our universities. And since ambition is by no means limited to college students, some other Johnny-Come-Latelys will continue to take their chances with the Communist party.

### ***3. Cold-blooded opportunism***

This motive has much in common with the immediately preceding one. But while the frustrated capitalist may deceive himself as to why he joined the Communist movement, the cold-blooded opportunist suffers from no such delusions. He knows very well why he is following the Party line.

Cold-blooded opportunism has motivated people in many fields to use any device to further their avarice. It is no wonder that we find many instances of clever Communist manipulation of self-seeking individuals in the fields of entertainment, labor and the press—anywhere, in fact, where such individuals are in a good position to promote Party propaganda.

### ***4. Ambition to be esteemed outside one's own field***

People who are successful in one field or profession often dream of being hits in other endeavors for which they lack qualifications. The Communist Party has been particularly successful in exploiting variations of "social climbing" and love for acclaim in undertakings outside the areas of prominent personalities' real competence. A successful astronomer or physicist, for instance, is put on a program about China with a Broadway or Hollywood actress. The actress gets the confused idea that she has become learned, the scientist thinks he is glamorous—and both believe they are "China experts". Everybody is happy, especially the Communists who collect the folding money.

### ***5. Desire to have everybody chopped down to size***

This is a negative, selfish motive of lazy people who want to deprive others of fair recognition and legitimate opportunities for advancement. Such people may lack the talents, enterprise, and courage which are necessary to get ahead. At the same time they hate to see others succeed. Love of deadening equality is much more popular with them than love of liberty and fraternity.

Fortunately this motive is far less common in the United States than it is in certain European countries where the culture is old and tired. After V-E Day many Frenchmen and Italians joined the Communist movement out of cynicism rather than out of any expectation of seeing their country rescued from the exhaustion of the war. Voluntarily, they chose to be Communists without hope.

## **III. MOTIVES RELATED TO PERSONAL DISINTEGRATION**

Some of the following motives have already been discussed in the two preceding sections. Here, however, a new approach to them is taken. They are considered as impulses which proceed from emotional instability, a psychological disorder.

### ***1. Neurotic restlessness***

To regard everybody who joins a Communist front as neurotic would be a serious mistake. Communist control over a front organization may be so cleverly concealed in the early months of its existence, that only its worthy motives show during that period. Moreover, enthusiasm for honest causes cannot be dismissed simply as an indication of neurosis.

On the other hand, a person's emotional life is certain to become twisted if he remains closely associated with the Communist movement over a long period of time. Superficial contact with one or a few front organizations may do no or relatively little harm. But close affiliation with the Communist Party itself makes people progressively unfit for normal human relations.

Those who doubt that life in the Communist Party involves a self-imposed segregation from normal human life need only read a few of the personal accounts of those who have had the courage to break away from it: Louis Budenz' two books, "This Is My Story" and "Men Without Faces"; Fred Beal's "Proletarian Journey"—or a work composed by six well-known ex-Communists, "The God That Failed".

These saner people who could not continue to bear the abnormality and inhumanity of Communist existence poignantly depict the problems of psychological adjustment which an ex-Communist must face. In doing so they have shown that Party membership can often be an escape hatch into a kind of unreal world for the restlessly neurotic person who cannot adjust himself to life in normal society.

## ***2. Rebellion against the existing order—the conspiratorial appeal***

Adolescents believe their freedom is unjustly restricted by the older generation. They therefore resent authority and are rebellious. Because they are also insecure, they join in gangs to give themselves confidence and the courage to defy authority. The Communist Party is a rebellious gang defying established order. As such it has a certain natural attraction for young people, who will accept strict discipline as long as they believe they have something to do with its making and it is not "the old kind".

Related to this is the conspiratorial and secretive appeal of the Party. Doing things secretly and making plans against the existing order satisfies youths' resentment against authority.

The rebellion and conspiracy appeal of the Communist Party may be considered as a more or less natural appeal for adolescents. But when operative, as they often are, in the cases of adults who join the Party, they are definitely indications of emotional immaturity and maladjustment.

## ***3. Showing off***

Communist organizers put to good use the urge for exhibitionism common to some young people. These youngsters are directed to show off on a picket line or on a visit to government officials. Communist leaders pretend to favor legislation which they secretly hope to defeat: social security, housing reform, etc. By sending a delegation of neurotic exhibitionists to visit a Congressman or Assemblyman, they can satisfy the craving of youth for excitement and also kill good legislation while pretending to be in favor of it. There are always some adults in such delegations—older Communists who have never grown up and crave the exhibitionist outlet this type of Party activity gives them.

## ***4. Desire for uninhibited sex relations***

This motive has been extensively employed as a "come-on" for certain types of people. A few years ago loyal Party-line girls were

directed to "concentrate" on the New York waterfront by providing entertainment and intellectual readjustment for the members of a maritime union.

In the early days of the party, sexual license was extremely common, especially in the case of the Young Communist League. This secondary end of Party policies actually proved so interesting to certain uninhibited youth that the effectiveness of the Y. C. L. as a revolutionary organization was threatened. Nevertheless, since Moscow had encouraged sexual freedom, no American Communist would have dared to check it.

By the middle Thirties the Soviet government had begun to revise its ideas about sexual morality. Somehow, free love and the Five Year Plan had not mixed. Officially encouraged abortions had not provided sufficient heroes for the fight against fascist aggression. When the Soviet government went "puritan", the American Party had to follow suit—at least in theory.

#### *5. Vague humanitarianism*

This is an extremely cogent motive with many inveterate Communist frontiers. One might call it the fundamental belief of the confused, actually psychopathic liberal who wants ever so much to do good but has only the faintest idea of how to go about it. Such warm-hearted but muddle-minded people pulsate with obscure vibrant sentiments that lack foundation in a rational philosophy of life.

As a result they become the natural prey of ever-alert, hard boiled Party organizers who herd them into a variety of "Innocents Clubs". In these heart-warming organizations the "softheaded liberals", as they are contemptuously referred to by Party leaders, cannot refuse any humanitarian appeal. This type of person does the Communist Party the further service of befuddling and paralyzing many progressive movements.

#### *6. Disillusion and pessimism as to the value of western civilization*

This is the excuse often given by "lost liberals" for their uncritical acceptance of the Soviet myth. These people will search out every little defect in our own civilization with an X-ray eye, but will find nothing wrong with the Soviet way of life. They claim to be rational, but, like blinded moths, rush blissfully toward the bright light of Soviet concentration camps—while declaiming against some minor injustice in the U. S. A. This is the non-thinking kind of pessimist who lacks the energy and ability to work out an adequate philosophy of life.

Other pessimistic and disillusioned people who have thought things through have also associated themselves with the Communist movement. Back in the depression days, many brilliant minds—such as those of Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss—could see no way out. They coolly and deliberately hitched their fortunes to what appeared to be a rising star, the red star of international Communism. For a time this new course seemed to solve their problems.

"Realists" of this sort are not so much attached to the Soviet Union as to the desire not to make a failure of their lives. The effectiveness of Communist propaganda is shown by the fact that it has made such discontented people identify the goals of theoretical Marxism (their rational answer to life's problems) with those of the Soviet Union.

Hardheaded people do not like their objectives to remain abstract and vague. They want their goals expressed in concrete form. This has helped Stalin's agents in their job of selling the Soviet Union as the concrete embodiment of theoretical Marxism. The fact that the real product was thousands of miles away and not, therefore, available for critical inspection has also helped a great deal in the marketing of this idea.

#### ***7. Desire for complete regimentation***

Some people would much rather follow the leadership of others than be burdened with the problem of figuring things out for themselves. Party membership satisfies this desire. Communists carry submission to the utmost extremes. What they ask of the Party is total "guidance", without which they know they will err dialectically and expose themselves to the horror of being purged. Not regimentation, but expulsion, is their greatest fear.

#### ***8. Personal reintegration through Party activity***

Without doubt, some unstable personalities achieve a measure of reintegration by absorption within the whirl of Party and Party-front activities. In the Communist movement the "whole of their lives" is made over and given a purpose. Louis Budenz in his book, "Men Without Faces", has vividly described the importance of this endless round of Party functions for people who have hitherto been neglected or, at least, have failed to receive the attention they crave. There is one great catch to their new-found happiness: Never can they question the absolute will of their leader, even though it bring them personal annihilation. Their submission to this is a sign of still existent disintegration.

#### ***9. Identification with the powerful world force, Russia***

A timid, weak man can act bravely and boldly when he thinks he has a strong protector. The might of the Soviet giant transforms the insecurity of many Communist sympathizers and infuses in them great vicarious power. For the Party member, identification with Russia marks the summit of personal reintegration. What more is there to hope for in the universe than union, through the conspiracy, with one's glorious and mighty father in Russia?

### **IV. MOTIVES OCCASIONALLY EFFECTIVE AMONG WELL-TO-DO PEOPLE**

To many people the most puzzling thing about the Communist movement is the fact that a minority of wealthy people have become involved in its meshes. While it may not seem illogical for a genuine proletarian to go Communist, the sight of a millionaire doing so is something to ponder.

#### ***1. Sense of guilt deriving from an unearned fortune***

Sometimes rich people feel ashamed at having inherited a fortune which they realize they could not have earned. Communists have a wonderful talent for divining such delicate consciences. Very soon the guilt-stricken "angel" is promoting "worthy" causes under neatly concealed Communist direction.

## ***2. Making a nuisance of oneself to attract attention***

This is a variation of the tactic which the dumb boy adopts in order to get attention in school. If he cannot succeed at his studies, he may be able to annoy the teacher and thereby draw attention to himself. Every now and then a scion of a great business family realizes that he cannot make good at the profession of his father but that if he joins up with the enemies of capitalism, he can attract a lot of attention to himself. So he does just that.

## ***3. Boredom, thrill-seeking***

The jaded society woman may be looking for something different. So she tries a little proletarian slumming in a Communist front. Next year it may be yogi or yo-yo. Before she wearies of her "penthouse Communism" she will have parted with a heap of folding money.

## ***4. Desire to dominate others through the use of one's fortune***

Occasionally, a person of great wealth will get the itch to influence public opinion with his ideas. For several years a male millionaire doubled as "angel" to an Eastern newspaper popularly referred to as the "uptown Daily Worker". When the wealthy man wearied of his "progressive" cause, an elderly female millionaire eagerly snatched at the opportunity to keep alive the fires of only slightly concealed Communism.

# **V. MOTIVES RELATED TO RELIGION**

## ***1. Violent hatred of all God-directed religion***

This is diabolical rebellion, the defiant cry, "I will not serve". One of Lenin's last acts was to order an intensified attack on religion. While Party members may for a while retain vestiges of religious "superstition", all top personnel must actively profess atheism.

## ***2. Thrill of personal deification***

In a vague, pantheistic way the Communist Party becomes the material substitute for God and each comrade, as part of the dialectically evolving force, somehow shares in its "divinity". Being a tiny segment of this all-absorbing monster provides an immensely flattering substitute for the old religion which required submission to a Creator outside oneself. When a comrade believes he is a part of the great force that imposes Party discipline, he can endure that abnormal regimentation more patiently. If he is not near the top of the organization, however, he has to be a facile dreamer to suppose, after some years in the Party, that his share in the world force amounts to anything.

## ***3. Hunger to fill the void left by loss of the old faith***

Attachment to Communism is often a desperate effort to fill the emptiness left by the abandonment of God-directed religion. The lost liberal, wanting only to be "rational" and yet starving for something to believe in, ends up by making an act of faith in his daydreams—that is, in his own illusion of what the Soviet system ought to be. Any resemblance to reality is purely coincidental.

## ***4. Paradise on earth***

"God-directed religion promises pie in the sky, by-and-by," say the Communists. The materialist wants a big piece of cake with

cream on top right now. And the comrade is sure that he will get it, along with strawberries and peaches, on Khrushchev's happy collective farms.

### THE ENCYSTED MIND—AND SOUND ANTI-COMMUNISM

The person who fellow travels or remains a Party member for any length of time, for whatever reasons, moves farther and farther away from normal human existence. Around himself he steadily erects a wall of Communist servitude. In the end he becomes completely encysted within the very dark world of a self-imposed segregation from healthy human society. Material success may come his way. But in order to live a normal life again, he must submit to a long and painful readjustment. The way of the ex-Communist is by no means easy.

This analysis of why people go Communist—a previously published study somewhat revised by the Director of the VFW American Sovereignty Campaign—is presented here as an aid to sound anti-Communist action.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's "Handbook For Americans" states that all anti-Communist programs *must* have two objectives in view:

(1) The first objective must be the reeducation of Communists through methods of persuasion and experience in order to reincorporate them into the ranks of sane and constructive citizens. It must be recognized that this is difficult since we are confronted in many cases with hard-bitten bigots. Nevertheless, it should be attempted, since it is far more desirable to have a sophisticated, well-informed, and loyal citizen who can contribute his knowledge and experience to the fight against communism than one who is dedicated to defiance of the American Government.

(2) The second objective must be to invoke the full penalty of the law against recalcitrants both as a deterrent and as a means to the reeducation of those not responsive to objective number one.

It is hoped that this attempt to explain the principal motives that impel people to embrace Communism in one form or another will aid in the accomplishment of the first objective outlined by the Committee. It is difficult to get anyone to break with Communism when you have no idea of why that person went Communist in the first place. Cause and cure are closely interwoven.

This study is designed to be of assistance in uncovering the principal reasons why certain individuals have become Communists or fellow travelers and thus providing a clue to the best means of promoting their defection from Communism and their reintegration into normal society—an undertaking certainly worthy of the efforts of all lovers of freedom and men of good will.

### THE SILENT "LIBERALS"

Apropos to the question as to why some people sympathize with communism is the following speech delivered by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *The New Leader*, December 26, 1955, pp. 9-10. See also Richard L-G. Deverall, *War*, Tokyo, 1955, Chapter 1: The Appeal of Communism.



**THREE WAYS TO DEFEAT COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM**  
**MILITARY POWER, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DEFENSE AGAINST**  
**SUBVERSION ARE ALL NECESSARY**

By George Meany

The present world crisis is not only political. It is, above all, a moral crisis. If a democratic Russia had played as important a role in defeating Hitler, the post-victory claims and counter-claims could have been settled through the normal channels of statesmanship and diplomatic negotiations. If Russia were not a totalitarian dictatorship, a huge imperialist power with a world ambition and mission, we would not be facing today a world-wide fifth column, the international Communist conspiracy.

That is why the Communist parties are not political parties in the democratic sense of the word. They are only national sectors of a Russian-directed world body. The military weight and material resources of the Soviet state are the base, the heart and head of Communist activities everywhere. This brute force is combined with a phony religious fanaticism. The Soviet state and its foreign branches constitute a godless church-state. This godless church-state fights on all fronts, in all walks of life, and with any and all means. Its central aim is the extension of the present Moscow-Peking Empire to include the entire world. In this light, the free world faces the following dangers:

The military power of the Moscow-Peking Axis.

Communist subversion *within* non-Communist countries—especially in colonial and underdeveloped areas. Thus subversion moves in various stages: neutralization, paralysis and full control.

Diplomatic-commercial maneuvers.

We face three tasks in meeting these dangers:

To develop military forces strong enough to deter and defeat direct and indirect aggression.

To develop social, economic and political superiority of democratic order through international cooperation, freedom and social progress for colonial peoples and underdeveloped countries and through the advancement of social justice in every free country.

Defense of freedom and the free state against fifth columns at home.

The three tasks are necessary. They are not alternatives. They are organically tied up with each other. They must go together and be applied simultaneously.

It is just as wrong to think that Communist imperialism can be defeated with arms alone as to say that it can be beaten with social reforms or social-security legislation alone. We must defeat Communist imperialism, Communist ideology and Communist subversion, and not merely any one of these evils. If we win on one or two fronts and the enemy breaks through on the third, we of the free world might lose all. In addition, we must also exploit the political differences and economic difficulties within the Soviet Empire. We must do nothing to ease Moscow's difficulties with the satellites. We must do nothing to help the Kremlin get over the difficulties arising from the struggle over succession to Stalin. In the diplomatic field, we should do

nothing to help build up the authority of the new regime among the Soviet peoples.

We should avoid being fooled by the more flexible and more cautious tactics of a regime which is still seeking to consolidate itself and enhance its authority. In fact, the more the Khrushchev regime feels itself secure, the more harsh and frontal its attacks will become. The recent Bulganin-Khrushchev tour of India and Burma is a striking example of Soviet insincerity.

Moscow has sought relaxation not as an end, but as a means to strengthen Soviet imperialism. This is proved by Russia's unchanged and uncompromising attitude to the basic causes of world tension. Moscow wants relaxation to affirm and strengthen its conquests of yesterday as a base for more Communist conquests tomorrow. Khrushchev, Kaganovich and Bulganin have openly and impudently said so.

It would be wrong to think that the weakness of the free world in the face of the Communist onslaught has been only military. If it were that simple, there would be nothing to worry about. We have grave weaknesses in our social and economic armor. *We have especially serious weaknesses in our moral and intellectual armor.*

Too many in the free world fail to see the real nature of Communism as the mortal foe of everything that we hold dear, of every moral and spiritual value. Too many in the free world are still prisoners of the illusion that Communism is, historically speaking, a progressive system—extreme liberalism temporarily making bad mistakes. Actually, Communism represents darkest reaction. It is an anti-social system in which there are embedded some of the worst features of savagery, slavery, feudalism and life-sapping exploitation manifested in the industrial revolution of early-day capitalism.

Too many in the free world seem to have lost their capacity for moral indignation against the most brutal inhumanities when they are perpetrated by Communists. It is painful, but we must face the cruel facts of life. We of the democratic camp must develop a far more vigorous moral attitude. We must rekindle our capacity to cry out against, to protest against, the godless dogmas and savage crimes being perpetrated by Moscow. Such struggles and such protests are not negative actions. They are positive. They are morally and politically constructive. I know of nothing more positive and constructive than a total struggle against the totalitarian cancer in the body-politic of modern society.

It is rather disturbing to me that many people in our country who call themselves liberals are stone silent about the Soviet concentration camps. They never find the time to utter a word of condemnation against the Communist imperialist destruction of the national independence and democratic rights of hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia. It is shocking to see the studied attempts being made by Western diplomacy to tear to shreds the Charter of the United Nations under the guise of the so-called package deal [for UN admissions] with Moscow and Peking. Can it be that the free world is so weak in its moral spirit that it does not recognize this deal as appeasement of the worst kind?

I am all for a fight to the finish against racialism in our own midst. Racialism is damnable and detestable in any form. But racialism in reverse—as now propagated in India and Burma by Khrushchev

and Bulganin—is just as reprehensible. And the Communist imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of hostages, so-called war prisoners, ten years after the close of the war, in violation of every human right and international agreement, is morally reprehensible. One would expect the true liberal to cry out in protest against human beings being carted, tagged and shuttled about for weeks in railyards of Russia, as if they were carloads of coal, or bags of potatoes.

Not until we of the free world can give rebirth to a vibrant moral attitude, to a burning indignation against such frightful bestialities, can the freedom-loving people be sufficiently stirred to gather the moral strength for resisting and defeating the totally anti-moral dogmas and deeds of Communism at home and abroad. Yes, this means above all a moral struggle against Communism.

Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Communism is the deadliest enemy of liberalism. Liberals should be the most consistent and energetic fighters against Communism. Liberals must also be on guard against developing a certain type of McCarthyism of their own. They must shun like a plague the role of being *anti-anti-Communist*. Only by refusing to be thus entrapped can liberals shed every vestige of subconscious and conscious regard for Communism as a movement with which they have something in common.

Much more regard must be shown by the democracies for principles—for the principles of human rights and human freedom. We must never sacrifice principles to expediency. This means being rigid in support of our principles.

Moscow is sure it has history's timetables in its pocket. Hitler once thought so, too. We have nothing to fear from peaceful competition. They need our help. We do not need theirs. They have nothing that can help us. What they have can only hurt us. But what we have they want from us in order to help and save them from the follies of Communism and Soviet imperialism.

We must avoid the suicidal self-deception of the Popular Front and "united front." No country, no people, no movement can stand aloof and be neutral in this struggle. Nehru and Tito are not neutral. They are aides and allies in fact and in *effect*, if not in diplomatic verbiage.

I cannot emphasize too strongly: The conflict between Communism and freedom is *the* problem of our time. It overshadows all other problems. This conflict mirrors our age, its toils, its tensions, its troubles and its tasks. On the outcome of this conflict depends the future of all mankind. I pray that, on the threshold of the Atomic Age, we of the free world can muster the moral courage and total strength to preserve the peace and promote the freedom of the men and women of every continent, color and creed.

#### SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

On September 22, 1950, the Internal Security Act (popularly referred to as the McCarran Act) became law. One of the principal provisions of the act called for the establishment of a Subversive Activities Control Board which was to conduct extensive and careful examination into the possible Communist character of certain organizations. With regard to the CPUSA itself, hearings commenced on April 23, 1951, were concluded almost exactly 2 years later. The stenographic record comprised 14,413 pages, in addition to which 507 exhibits (many of them entire volumes) were considered. The CPUSA was granted full opportunity to present evidence in its behalf. In brief, all the safeguards of civil liberty which are denied

to defendants in Communist controlled countries were accorded to the CPUSA. The following excerpts from the report of the Subversive Activities Control Board deserve weighty consideration.<sup>1</sup>

### REPORT OF THE BOARD

On November 22, 1950, the Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner herein, acting under Section 13 (a) of The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, hereinafter called the Act, filed a petition with the Board for an order requiring the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), Respondent herein, to register with the Attorney General as required by Sections 7 (a), (c), and (d) of the Act. The petition alleges that Respondent is a Communist-action organization as defined in the Act and as measured by the standards specified therein, and it sets forth numerous allegations of fact in support of its contention.

A copy of the petition was served by Petitioner upon Respondent on November 24, 1950. Answer under protest was filed by Respondent on February 14, 1951, and on April 3, 1951, an amended answer was filed.\*

In the amended answer Respondent admits that it was organized in 1919 and has been in existence continuously since that date. Otherwise, the substance and effect of its answer is to deny that Respondent fits the definition and standards of a Communist-action organization as alleged in the petition.

Hearings for the purpose of taking evidence on the petition commenced on April 23, 1951, before three members of the Board sitting as a hearing panel.

\* \* \* \* \*

From our analysis of the record, we find that Respondent has been accorded a fair and impartial hearing, and a full measure of due process of law.

### CONCLUSION

The evidence in this proceeding discloses the history and activities of the Communist Party of the United States (Respondent herein) over the period of its entire existence. From its inception in 1919, it has been a subsidiary and puppet of the Soviet Union.

Since the late 1930's, when it was faced with adverse legislation, Respondent has become increasingly diligent and resourceful in its efforts to appear as a domestic political party while continuing its subservience to the Soviet Union. Many of its practices were contrived to conceal its revolutionary objectives. Thus, it continues as an avowed Marxist-Leninist organization but, except to initiate, disclaims so much of Marxism-Leninism as would endanger its continued legal existence to espouse. As in the present proceeding, this frequently entails disavowing the core of Marxism-Leninism.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, *Petitioner, v. Communist Party of the United States of America, Respondent*, report of the Subversive Activities Control Board presented by Mr. McCarran, 83d Cong., 1st sess., U. S. Senate, Doc. No. 41, April 23, 1953, pp. 1, 132-133, 133.

\* In the interim period Respondent attacked the validity of the proceeding by various motions addressed to the Board, which were denied, and also instituted suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a preliminary injunction to stay the proceeding and for a permanent injunction and declaratory judgment (Civil Action 419-51). A three-judge statutory court on February 28, 1951, denied Respondent's motion for a preliminary injunction 28 (Communist Party of the United States v. McGrath, 94 F. Supp. 47) but on March 13, 1951, issued an order staying answer and hearings before the Board to and including March 27, 1951, pending appeal. An extension of this stay was refused by the United States Supreme Court on March 26, 1951, and Respondent voluntarily discontinued the proceeding.

Consequently, Respondent is met with the dilemma of appearing to reject but yet maintain its reason for being. As our findings in this report reveal, this dual role is so fundamentally incongruous as to be incapable of fulfillment under scrutiny. It is so innate in Respondent's nature that it seek and accept Soviet Union direction and control that, in actuality, it does not function as the purely domestic political party whose role it would, de jure, assume. Rather, nurtured by the Soviet Union, it labors unstintingly to advance the world Communist movement.

With consummate patience, the Party strives for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States; a goal which would rob the American people of the freedoms they have forged. While using the cloak of the United States Constitution, it struggles unremittingly to synthesize from the complexities of our time a condition in this country which would enable it to shackle our institutions and preside over a Soviet America, under the hegemony of the Soviet Union.

Upon the overwhelming weight of the evidence in this proceeding, we find that Respondent is substantially directed, dominated, and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement referred to in Section 2 of the Act; and that Respondent operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement.

Accordingly, we find that the Communist Party of the United States is a Communist-action organization and required to register as such with the Attorney General of the United States under Section 7 of the Act.

An appropriate order will be entered.

By the Board:

(Signed) PETER CAMPBELL BROWN,  
*Chairman.*

(Signed) KATHRYN MCHALE,  
*Member.*

(Signed) WATSON B. MILLER,  
*Member.*

Dated: April 20, 1953, at Washington, D. C.

CODDAIRE, *Member* (concurring):

On the basis of the testimony, the documentary material, and the Recommended Decision, all of which I have carefully read and studied, I am fully in accord with and concur in the findings and in the determination that the Respondent herein, the Communist Party of the United States of America, is a Communist-action organization under subsection (3) of Section 3 of the Act and required to register as such under Section 7. Since the Respondent has attempted by its briefs and arguments to eviscerate the Act and this proceeding, and since issues of far-reaching importance have been raised, I deem it desirable to set forth my understanding as to the nature and scope of the Board's Order issued herein. Proper understanding of the nature and scope of the Board's Report and Order does much to eliminate Respondent's contentions against the Act and the application of the Act to the Respondent.

The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of public policy against un-American and subversive activities. The Board has been launched as a quasi-

judicial agency for the carrying-out of the fact-finding and (resultant adjudicatory aspects of a statutory scheme for, *inter alia*, identification of foreign dominated and foreign controlled organizations which operate in the United States primarily to carry out the evils found by Congress to be present in the world Communist movement.

Of particular importance are the facts that, in my opinion at least, registration proceedings before the Board are not criminal proceedings and reasonable registration in the public interest is not punishment. The result of the Board's order is not to outlaw the Communist Party nor is it punitive for past conduct. This proceeding is concerned solely with what amounts to the determination of a status. The order has, in effect, a forward-looking function aimed at registration or identification, as do many regulatory measures.

Respondent's main legal objections involve what it calls an improper use of pre-Act evidence, and a "built-in verdict" whereby under the Act the Board has no discretion other than to find as it has. These contentions, particularly when viewed against the nature and scope of the Board's Order as set forth above, are devoid of merit. The Board's Report treats with the question of pre-Act evidence and further elaboration is not necessary other than to emphasize that it is clearly proper, in my opinion, to base the determination of a status, or of characteristics, upon past and current facts whose weight we have strictly weighed.

Regarding the many arguments advanced by the Respondent in connection with its "built-in verdict" contention, the short answer is that the facts which have been ascertained in our Report, as established upon the formal record made in this proceeding, clearly and unequivocally show the Respondent to be a Communist-action organization as defined in the Act. Although there is no need for the Board to express an opinion on the constitutional questions raised by the Respondent, and I do not presume to do so, I can see nothing illegal *per se* in that the proofs in this proceeding establish the Respondent to be characteristically just the type of organization which the registration provisions of the Act cover.

(Signed) DAVID J. CODDAIRE,  
Member.

Dated: April 20th, 1953, at Washington, D. C.

\* \* \* \* \*

## BEFORE THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

Docket No. 51-101

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, PETITIONER, V. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RESPONDENT

### ORDER OF THE BOARD

The Board having this day issued its Report in which it finds and determines that the Communist Party of the United States of America, respondent herein, is a Communist-action organization under the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950;

IT IS ORDERED that the said respondent, the Communist Party of the United States of America, shall register as a Communist-action organization under and pursuant to section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, and

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that if the Communist Party of the United State of America fails to comply with the registration requirements of said Act, pursuant to the above Order, then each and every section, branch, fraction, or cell of said respondent shall register in accordance with the requirements of said Act.

By the Board:

(Signed) PETER CAMPBELL BROWN,  
*Chairman.*

(Signed) KATHRYN MCHALE,  
*Member.*

(Signed) DAVID J. CODDAIRE,  
*Member.*

(Signed) WATSON B. MILLER,  
*Member.*

Washington 25, D. C., April 20, 1953.

By way of conclusion of the introduction to the present section, this committee reprints certain recommendations which it deems of vital importance to the preservation of our cherished freedoms.<sup>8</sup>

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The vast majority of the recommendations made by the Committee on Un-American Activities have been adopted or enacted into law. The committee notes, however, that no legislation in this field was completed during the first session of the present Congress despite certain measures which the committee believes deserve immediate attention and action.

Until the courts have rendered a final determination on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the committee does not believe it advisable for the Congress to undertake any broad new legislative action against the functioning of the Communist Party. The committee also prefers to observe the operation of the immunity statute enacted by the last Congress before making any further recommendations along this line.

Nevertheless there are certain legislative and administrative steps which should be taken immediately in order to strengthen the hand of our Government in dealing with the Soviet conspiracy. Four of these measures have been previously recommended by the committee and are resubmitted with the urgent request that decisive action be taken before the conclusion of the 84th Congress:

1. Information obtained through surveillance by technical devices should be permitted as evidence in matters affecting the national security, with the provision that adequate safeguards are adopted to prevent any abuse of civil liberties.

2. The unauthorized transportation in interstate commerce of Government documents falling within a top secret, secret, or confidential classification should be made a criminal action.

<sup>8</sup> Annual Report for the Year 1955. Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives 84th Cong., 2d sess., January 11, 1956, pp. 35-36.

3. Persons bidding for a Government contract should be required to file an affidavit stating he is not now and has not been within the past 10 years a member of any organization advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

4. The statute of limitations on treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities should be amended. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate would amend the statute to permit prosecutions up to 15 years from the time of commission of a crime, instead of the 5 years now provided for.

In addition, the committee urges the following legislative and administrative action in 1956:

5. The statute of limitations for violation of section 1001 or section 1621 of title 18, United States Code, dealing with false statements in regard to subversive activities and connections, should be extended to 10 years from commission of the offense by employees of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or any applicant for such employment.

6. The maximum penalty for seditious conspiracy, advocating overthrow of the Government, and conspiracy to so advocate, should be increased to \$20,000 in fines and 20 years imprisonment, in order to provide a more realistic punishment for crimes of such gravity. This change is embodied in H. R. 2854, which was passed by the House in 1955 at the recommendation of the House Judiciary Committee and now awaits action by the Senate.

7. There is a need for prompt enactment of H. R. 3882, revising existing law to require the registration of persons with knowledge of or training in espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage tactics of a foreign government. The House approved this bill last year but Senate action on the measure is still needed.

8. Procedures by which congressional committees seek legal redress against contemptuous witnesses should be streamlined in the manner proposed by H. R. 780. Court action frequently takes 1 to 2 years under the present cumbersome process which involves: Committee vote, a House resolution, formal application to the United States district attorney; grand jury indictment, and trial. Not only does the committee fail to obtain the information desired of the witness, but the witness often escapes punishment altogether. H. R. 780 permits congressional committees, by majority vote, to refer a defiant witness directly to the courts. If the court determines that a witness has been in contempt and he so continues, the witness may then be adjudged in contempt of the court itself. H. R. 780 has already been approved by the House and requires action by the Senate.

9. Willfully contradictory statements made by a witness before Federal grand juries, Federal courts, or congressional bodies should be punishable as perjury without the present requirement that the Government prove which of the statements is false. Although when two contradictory statements are made, one of them is obviously false, the Government must now prove the falsity by testimony of 2 independent witnesses or by the testimony of 1 witness and corroborative evidence. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate would remedy this situation by requiring the Government to prove only that the statements of a witness are themselves contradictory—provided that they are willful, concern material matters, and are made within 3 years of one another.



10. Recommendation is hereby made that the Attorney General continue his efforts for stricter enforcement of section 242 of the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act providing for the detention of aliens whose deportation has not been effected. Such action would prevent the anomaly of deportable Communists, such as Kim Diamond and David Hyun, continuing to remain at liberty and to engage in subversive activities while doing all in their power to obstruct the processes of law designed to rid the Nation of their presence.

## I. GENERAL TACTICS

This section of documents, which deals with the relationship between the Comintern and the CPUSA, appropriately begins with two advocating the use of force and violence against the Government of the United States. Such directives were not only in keeping with the primary objectives of the First World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 1), but would always be in line with the ultimate goal of world communism.

During the purges of the thirties, all three authors—Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Berzin—were liquidated (sec. B, exhibit No. 55). Ian Berzin rose from the ranks to become General Berzin, director of Soviet Military Intelligence in 1922 or 1923.<sup>1</sup> According to the Soviet agent, Nicholas Dozenberg, Berzin called him to Moscow in 1929 in order to work out plans providing an American cover for Soviet intelligence activities in France.<sup>2</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 1

[Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, House of Representatives, 71st Cong., 2d sess., June 17, 1930. *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, pt. 3., vol. 2, pp. 78-79]

#### MESSAGE CAPTURED FROM SOVIET COURIER BY LETTISH GOVERNMENT AND ADDRESSED TO AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY ZINOVIEV—DISPATCH PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DATED JANUARY, 1920

"The party must take into account the everyday incidents of the class war. The stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind. The time for decisive battles has arrived. The most important task confronting the American communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of revolutionary struggle. The party must have (for its object?) the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor and other unions associated with it and must strive to establish the closest connections with the Industrial Workers of the World, the One Big Union, and W. I. I. U. The party must support the foundation of the factory workers' committees in factories, these serving as bases for the everyday struggle and for training the advance guard of labor in managing industry."

The amalgamation of the foreign-speaking national federations with the English-speaking party is insisted upon. Being better trained theoretically, the communication goes on to say, and more closely bound by the Russian revolutionary traditions, the members

<sup>1</sup> David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 4-5, 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage*. Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 1st sess., November 8, 1949, pp. 3540-3541.

of the national federations may in the future have the guiding influence. The employment of the referendum, it says, should be reduced to a minimum.

"Referendums are considered undesirable during the period of disagreement," reads one of the conditions laid down in the plan of uniting the two American parties.

"Unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists," runs the appeal to the American Industrial Workers of the World, "the Russian revolution can not last."

Zinoviev states that the general strike, as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, is insufficient to wrest power from the capitalist state. Armed insurrection, he says, must be employed.

#### COPY OF DOCUMENT TAKEN FROM A SOVIET COURIER EN ROUTE TO THE UNITED STATES

DEAR COMRADES: Allow us to express ourselves as to your work in America.

1. We consider that, after the expulsion of certain national sections of the American Socialist Party, the time is ripe to form a Communist Party of America, officially affiliated with the Communist International. In our opinion, such a party should be organized out of (a) the former Socialist Propaganda League, (b) the left expelled elements of the A. S. P., (c) left elements of the S. L. P., which must at all costs be split, (d) the I. W. W., whose nonpolitical attitude will vanish on its recognition of the Soviet Government and the workers' dictatorship.

Upon the formation of the Communist Party, measures should be taken to have a representative at Moscow.

2. We consider that one of the most important tasks before you is the organization of communist groups in the Army and Navy, which should carry on energetic propaganda in favor of soldiers' and sailors' soviets and denunciatory agitation against officers and generals.

3. Workers' soviets should on no account be allowed to develop into bodies for philanthropic or educative ends. We fear that in America a danger of this kind exists. We therefore insist that the soviets shall be fighting organizations for seizing control of the state, for the overthrow of government, and the establishment of the workers' dictatorship. This is their sole task. The leading of strikes, of unemployment agitation, and of insurrection—such must be their activity. Secondly, care must be taken to forestall the division of the workers into national groups. Strive, therefore, to create soviets consisting of various nationalities. The backbone of the revolution will always be American.

4. Your chief slogans must be: Down with the Senate and Congress; long live the government of workers' councils; away with capitalists from the factories; long live the workers' control of the factories and mills; down with speculators; all food organizations in the hands of workmen; and so on. Everywhere the strongest agitation must be conducted for the seizure by the workers of all organs of economic administration. Make a clear distinction between nationalization of industry under capital and our socialization. It will be useful also to practice calumny of Wilson as the most hypocritical robber, and also of the League of Nations. Besides denouncing the hangman's rôle of the "great democracies," point out also how we have been crushed in Hungary.

5. Especial attention must be given to the American Federation of Labor. It must be broken, agitating with the energetic aid of the International Workers of the World for the creation of revolutionary trade-unions.

6. Propagate with all possible force the idea of the arming of the workers. Let not demobilized revolutionary soldiers give up their rifles. The general motto should be: An international soviet republic. Scare the workers with the new wars that capital is preparing. Prevent by every means, not hesitating to resort to the most extreme measures, the formation of a white guard.

7. Act centrally. Do not fall asunder. Organize conspirative revolutionary headquarters.

With communist greeting of the bureau of the executive committee of the Communist International.

N. BUKHARIN.  
I. BERZIN.

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The first 10 years of the Communist movement in the United States were plagued by factionalism, which persisted until Stalin took charge in 1929 (this section, exhibit No. 10).<sup>1</sup> The present exhibit consists of an ECCI directive which largely went unheeded, although all parties concerned professed allegiance to the Communist International.<sup>2</sup> In general, the directive followed the line promulgated at the Second World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 3). Special emphasis was placed upon the necessity of combining illegal activity with legal possibilities.

From September 1919 to the end of 1944, various Communist Parties in the United States published four different periodicals under the title of *The Communist*. The present one was gotten out by the United Communist Party of America. Place and span of publication: Chicago, from June 12, 1920, to April 1921.

## EXHIBIT No. 2

[*The Communist*, August 15, 1920. Pp. 5-11]

### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT

To the Executive Committees of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party.

Dear Comrades:

From reports of comrades representing both groups of the Communist Movement in America, who have arrived from the United States, it was made possible for the Executive Committee of the Communist International to learn the differences in the ranks of the American comrades—differences that led to an open split and to the formation of two Communist parties.

The matter has been discussed at a full meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at which, in addition to the members of the Executive Committee, there were also present representatives of both parties in the United States, as well as representatives of the Communist organizations of France, Sweden,

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York, Dutton, 1940. James Oneal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism*, New York, Dutton, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York, International Publishers, 1952, p. 173.

Hungary, Finland and South Slavonia. The Executive Committee of the Communist International came to the following conclusion:

The split brings much harm to the Communist Movement in America. It will lead to the division of the revolutionary forces, to harmful duplication and unnecessary friction and unjustifiable waste of energy on internal struggles. And this is going on when the concentration of the forces of the American bourgeoisie has reached an unheard of height, when the class struggle is becoming more and more intensified, when in view of the onward sweeping world revolution the American working class has before it the greatest possibilities and the brightest hopes!

A close study of the documents from both sides has convinced us that there are no serious differences in the programs of the two parties. There are certain differences on the question of organization. There was some disagreement on the question of how to break with the social-patriotic party. But that is all. This does not even in the smallest degree justify a split and it must *by all means*, be liquidated. As long as the two parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and we have no reason to doubt that this is the case—unity is not only possible, but absolutely necessary. The Executive Committee categorically insists on its immediate realization.

The necessity for immediate unity is dictated also by the fact that the two parties represent, so to say, different sides of the Communist Movement in America, which could well supplement each other. In one party (C. P. A.) are mainly the language elements, united in the so-called “national federations.” The other party (C. L. P.) represents mainly the American or English speaking elements. If the first are, on the one hand, often better trained theoretically and are more closely connected with the traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the working class of Russia, they are, on the other hand, much less connected with the mass movement and the mass organizations of the American workers, who are gradually entering the broad road of the class struggle.

If the elements of the C. L. P. have not as yet gone through a similar theoretical school, they have the tremendous advantage that through them the party can most easily exert its influence on the great masses of the *actual American workers*, who, in the coming decisive class battles will play the most important part.

On one hand propaganda is best developed; on the other agitation.

Thus the two parties naturally supplement each other and only by bringing them together will it be possible to create a strong Communist party in America, which is to become the leader of the *mass movement* and the approaching Communist revolution.

For the purpose of bringing about unity in the shortest possible time, the Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends that the two parties immediately call a joint convention, the decisions of which shall be binding for both parties. For the purpose of calling this convention as well as for the purpose of coordinating the work of the two parties until the convention, a bureau consisting of an equal number of representatives must be created. As a basis for unity the principles laid down in the platform of the Communist International and the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International must be taken.

In addition to this the Executive Committee desires to point out the following:

1. The Communist Party must strive at the earliest moment to unite within its ranks all the elements that recognize the necessity of conquering power and establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is self-evident that this recognition must be one of action and not purely theoretical and in words. It must bind every one who desires to be a party member to the unlimited struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the working class. If this condition is fulfilled and an agreement reached on the main and fundamental point, differences of opinion on other questions, such as the questions of the use of parliamentary and other legal means, about using this or that method of struggle, about various forms of organization, etc., are not important.

Such differences of opinion are unavoidable in the countries where it is necessary to build a Communist Party of elements having different political origins (Left Wing Socialists who have severed their connection with the old parties; non-partisans who have accepted the principle of the consistent class struggle; anarchists and syndicalists, who recognize the necessity of the seizure of power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, etc.). To split on account of these differences, differences that are now, in the period of immediate revolutionary struggle for power only of secondary importance, is absolutely not to be allowed. The one thing the party must demand from each organization and from each individual member in case of a division of opinion, is, absolute discipline, unconditional obedience to the rule of the majority. A thorough discussion of questions before they are finally acted upon by the party is necessary and free criticism should be allowed. But after the party has accepted a certain decision, all the party members, including those who disagree with it, must, without fail, act in accordance with that decision. The greatest freedom to those who think differently during the time of discussion on one hand, and, on the other, the strictest discipline in bringing the party decision into life—these are the elementary conditions without which the creation of a strong party of proletarian revolution is impossible.

2. A full break with the old Socialist parties (S. P. and S. L. P.) is the self-evident condition for the creation of a Communist Party in America. This condition does not mean, however, that the Communist Party cannot accept individual comrades, as well as whole organizations that previously belonged to these parties, who have decisively accepted the point of view of the organized class struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Communist Party must be a *mass* organization and not a narrow, closed circle. "Separation" from non-Communist elements must be understood as keeping away from actual social-traitors and from the "centrist" elements of the old parties, but by no means in the sense of refusing former members of the old parties who have severed all connections with them.

The doors of the Communist Party must be wide open to the proletarians, who, although not having a knowledge of all the details of Communist theory, true to the cause of the proletarian revolution and who are actually involved in the struggle against the domination of the bourgeoisie. The Communist party will serve them as the best school of Communism.

3. Up to the present time the American Left Wing Socialists have paid a great deal of attention to propaganda within their own ranks and in this respect they have done important work. But limiting themselves to a more or less narrow circle of comrades, they have to a large degree stood aside from the immediate class struggle of the proletarian masses, which is wide-spread over the country. At any rate they have not played a leading part in the biggest collisions between capital and labor. While uniting within its ranks all the most active and conscious elements of the working class and developing the greatest *mass* agitation and propaganda of the ideas of Communism, the Communist Party must at the same time aim to assume the role of the leader of the class struggle of the proletariat in all its forms, beginning with the local industrial strike, demonstrations, mass meetings, election campaigns to the general political strike and ending with the armed uprising of the proletariat. The main problem of the American Communists at the present moment is to bring the *broad proletarian* masses into the revolutionary class struggle.

While assisting by every means the speedy split of the American Federation of Labor and other similar trade unions, the party must at the same time endeavor to establish a close contact with those economic organizations of the working class in which there is a tendency toward industrial unionism, (I. W. W., O. B. U., W. I. I. U., individual unions that have split away from the A. F. of L.). The party must work in *close contact* with them, endeavoring at the same time to unite them and to create strong class conscious economic organizations of the proletariat. While supporting by all means the industrial unions in their everyday struggle for immediate economic demands, the party must endeavor to broaden and deepen this struggle, to transform it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aim of the proletariat, overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of the capitalist order.

4. The party must so far as possible support the formation in the factories, *besides Communist Party units*, of shop committees, which serve, on the one hand, as a basis for the economic struggle, and on the other, as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class for the administration of the industries after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established. It is understood that these shop committees must work in close contact with the industrial unions.\*

6. The party must not be a conglomerate of independent, autonomous "language federations." The federations have played an important historical part in the American Socialist Movement, (their long, systematic opposition within the old parties, the creation of the Socialist Propaganda League, the formation of the Left Wing). But now, with the rapid development of the class struggle, and when the American proletariat is faced with an extremely complicated problem, the language federations will only be in a position to fulfill their duty if they amalgamate as closely as possible with the organizations of the American workers. Of course, it is not desirable to have the old historical form of organization destroyed at one stroke, as this might lead to the complete disappearance of the federations—the constant propagators of Communist ideas in America. That is why the Execu-

\* Committee note: Paragraph 5 omitted in original text.

tive Committee of the Communist International points out that the process of the complete amalgamation of the federations with the rest of the American Communist Movement must be achieved gradually and with a certain degree of carefulness. The language federations may reserve their autonomy regarding the work of propaganda in their respective languages, but in the case of political and economic struggles they must be subordinate to the regular party organs.

In time of intensive class struggle it is necessary to reduce the use of the referendum to a minimum. At any rate, no referendum should be permitted on questions demanding immediate action. In periods between the conventions the C. E. C. must have full power.

7. The ever increasing persecution against the Communists in America brings up the question of illegal work. The Congress of the Communist International of March, 1919, has definitely ruled on this question. Illegal work is necessary as bourgeois "democracy" the world over has actually established a state of siege against the Communists. Two or three years ago the English workers regarded even the idea of illegal work in such a free country as England as absurd. Now the revolutionary workers of England also have learned to conduct illegal work. The same thing happened in Germany, where the Social-Democratic hangmen Noske, Scheideman and Co. are trying to drive underground the mighty Communist Movement of the German workers. We must make use of all the legal possibilities. And at the same time we must learn to issue illegal leaflets, to form illegal group meetings, to form illegal shop committees, where it is necessary, to have illegal directing centers, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is confident that you, comrades, will solve the problems that are facing you. The victory of the international proletariat depends upon the success of Communism in America.

With Communist Greetings,

*The Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.*

Pursuant to various ECCI directives insisting upon the establishment of illegal apparatus, the Communist Party of America submitted for Moscow approval the following set of rules applicable to underground activity. Although their intentions were "right," the various Communist Parties of the period manifested inexperience with the required kind of illegal operations.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, they kept on trying and, in time, became quite proficient under competent Kremlin direction (sec. D, exhibit No. 42).

*The Communist International* was the older of two leading Comintern publications (sec. D, exhibit No. 3). From 1919 to 1940, English editions were published in Leningrad (Petrograd) and London. According to William Z. Foster, the last issue of *The Communist International* appeared on July 5, 1943.<sup>2</sup> A special American edition began publication in New York City on January 15, 1934. Down to 1940, it was admittedly an organ of ECCI. But in that year, Earl Browder assumed "full editorial responsibility" in order to avoid the embarrassing implications of the Voorhis Act (this section, exhibit No. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Gitlow, *The Whole of Their Lives*, New York, Scribner's, 1948, pp. 82-96. Jacob Spolansky, *The Communist Trail in America*, New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 14-30.

<sup>2</sup> William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals: The World Socialist and Communist Movements from 1848 to the Present*, New York, International Publishers, 1955, p. 437.

## EXHIBIT No. 3

[*The Communist International* (Petrograd English edition), 1921, No. 16-17.  
Pp. 119-120]

## RULES FOR UNDERGROUND PARTY WORK

- 1) **DON'T** betray Party work and Party workers under any circumstances.
- 2) **DON'T** carry or keep with you names and addresses, except in good code.
- 3) **DON'T** keep in your rooms open'y any incriminating documents or literature.
- 4) **DON'T** take any unnecessary risks in Party work.
- 5) **DON'T** shirk Party work because of the risk connected with it.
- 6) **DON'T** boast of what you have to do or have done for the Party.
- 7) **DON'T** divulge your membership in the Party without necessity.
- 8) **DON'T** let any spies follow you to appointments or meetings.
- 9) **DON'T** lose your nerve in danger.
- 10) **DON'T** answer any questions if arrested, either at preliminary hearings or in the court.

1) The unpardonable crime in underground Party work is the betrayal of it or of its workers. To give information about them to the government is equal to outright treason regardless of what means, what tortures may have been used to wrench it from the comrade. **DON'T BE A TRAITOR!** Make up your mind for that! Let this determination penetrate to the very depths of your unconscious self, so that it would stand up under any influence, under any tortures. There is no condemnation, no punishment strong enough for a traitor.

2) To be caught with plainly written names and addresses of comrades or Party workers and places, is very nearly the same as betraying them to the government: at least in effect it is the same. Such names and addresses should never, not for a moment, be plainly written out. They should not be written out in full at all. Carry in your memory as much as you can, and let your notes be mere "memory-aids". And whatever you must write down, write it in good code.

Be sure, however, in all cases, that you have and know the correct addresses. It is absolutely wrong to be asking the way to a Party address from passers-by or even from the janitor and inhabitants of the very buildings where they are located. It is also very hurtful to make mistakes in Party shipment or mail addresses: through them important mail and shipments, not only are lost, but are delivered into the hands of the government; Party shipping methods are disclosed; the correct addresses are spoiled; and to cap it all, it may be the means through which the real addressee may be arrested. Always when giving, or taking, or using Party addresses, look twice, to be sure that there are no mistakes.

Write in good code whatever you must write down. A code for numbers is very easy to use at all times. Make up a word of ten letters, or two words of five each (but none that will make sense, as then they are easy to decipher), take such as „verga Dsihw“ (no letters to be used twice), and then use „v“ for 1, „e“ for 2, „r“ for 3, and so forth „w“ for 0.



For Party mail and shipments indirect addresses should be used wherever possible.

An organizer, through whose negligence Party names and addresses fall into the hands of the government, is little better than a traitor.

3) Keep your rooms "clean". A little care in this respect may save you in case of accidental arrest or search on suspicion. Especially keep clean of any quantities of our papers, leaflets, or literature, that would show that you are participating in the distribution of them. They cannot do very much for your reading revolutionary literature, but they will surely tuck you in for distributing it. And, then, why should you risk being known as a Communist to all those who happen to come to your rooms,—unknown "friends", peddlers, collectors, etc.?

4) Not only for your own sake, but for the sake of the Party, for preserving yourself as a Party worker, you should avoid all unnecessary risks. Be very careful in distributing our literature, or conducting our agitation and propaganda in the shops and unions.

Be still more careful, if you are entrusted with responsible positions in the Party organisation.

You can imagine how it would hurt our organization work, if a District Organizer, or any comrade from the Central Departments were arrested. For these comrades it would be absolutely foolish to take the risk of distributing literature from house to house, for example. They should not even be present at any open "functions" of the Party. They should not be seen one with the other, or even in groups of more than two, if at all. If one of them may be under suspicion of being an important Party worker, why should he give the spies an opportunity to place their suspicions on the others.

The more important one's position in the Party, the more he is looked for, the greater is his risk, and the greater should be his carefulness and precautions.

5) He is not a coward who, working for the Party, is very cautious and careful. The test is in the work:—is he doing it, or not? Is he willing to take the unavoidable risk that is connected with all underground Party work:—or is he trying, under one pretext or another, to avoid all risk to himself by keeping away from Party work altogether? If a comrade does his share of Party work, he is a better worker for doing it with the least possible risk. If he does not do his share he is a coward and a deserter regardless of anything else, regardless of his loud talking and boasting of his courage.

The rule is:—Party work must be done, with the least possible risk,—without risk, if possible,—but it must be done.

6) Boasting is foolish in general, but boasting of your work for the Party, thereby incurring absolutely unnecessary risks for yourself and for the Party work, is positively criminal. What you know, or what you have been entrusted to do of Party work, nobody else should know, except those who have a Party business to know it,—nobody else, not even the best comrade, not even your wife or sweetheart.

And be careful you are not overheard by others when you have to talk Party business.

7) Party work, Party agitation and propaganda,—even the collection of Party funds from outsiders and the getting of new members for the Party, can be and should be carried on without divulging one's membership in the Party. It is sufficient to say, in some cases, that

you endorse and support the Party; in others, that you have connections with Party members. Only when you bring a new member up to the probationary group you have to show him that you are a member yourself.

That through your activities you should be known as a "red" in your shop or union is all right, that is too general an attribute to be made the basis for prosecutions and punishment; but you should not be known as a member of the Communist Party.

8) Every one of us knows that thousands of spies are on the job every day in every city, bent upon ferreting out our members, our meetings and working places—but how many of us take this in consideration and see that they are not being followed when going to an appointment, to a meeting or even to a working place of ours? Especially those comrades who are more or less under suspicions, or even have been already singled out, arrested and indicted.

Do you know that they are sometimes let out on purpose, like a bait, for the spies to watch their steps, to follow them, and so to discover our workers and our addresses?

This does not mean that they should keep away from all Party work. It only means that they should be especially careful and circumspect.

Do you know that, in order to keep track of our work, they will open up our letters, photograph or copy them, and then send them through to us nicely closed again. They do not hold them up altogether, you see, because that would stop the sending of those letters, that would put the comrades on their guard.

Do not beget a false sense of security because for some length of time no arrests are made and no raids; it may be the calm before the storm: they may simply be gathering more and more information, getting hold of more and more of our organization threads, in order to swoop down upon us suddenly and try to break them all, try to paralyze us again, as they did in the January raids. They will never do quite that again, but if our comrades are not very careful all the time, we may suffer great injuries just the same.

9) Presence of mind, control, calmness, and preparation for emergencies count much in underground Party work. When going to it, you should always think in advance of those incriminating situations that are likely to arise, and prepare yourself for them,—how to avoid them,—how to get out of them, if unavoidable.

Be sure you have no unnecessary incriminatory notes of things with you, or in your rooms, when you go to underground Party work. Always have a good answer ready for a sudden—"What are you doing or looking for here?"—"Where are you going?"—"From where?"

Prepare yourself for accidental risks. Think of them in advance, and impress upon yourself that you will be calm and not lose your nerve when suddenly confronted with them. Calmness and good composure will many times save you where confusion and fear would have exposed you.

Hide, or throw away, or destroy, as far as possible, any material evidence, when you see that you will be caught. Of course, you must not do that lightly,—you must not do that at the slightest provocation. Before doing that be sure it is not a false alarm.

## AVOID ARREST BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS

10) If you are arrested however; that is, if they have sufficient evidence, or sufficient grounds for suspicion, that you are a Communist, and therefore as a deathly enemy of the present order, subject to suppression and imprisonment, law or no law:—but first to be made use of in getting hold of other Communists, in destroying the whole organization, if possible; first to be questioned and grilled, to be pumped for various information, to be put through the Third Degree;—then the only correct thing to do, the best thing in the circumstances, is absolute refusal to answer any questions. (Ask for a lawyer. You have the right for that. And you have the right to refuse to answer questions, whatever that may help you).

This course of action has been proved best by the experiences of our Russian comrades in their long years of difficult underground struggle against czarism. They have put their findings into a little booklet, "How to Act at Hearings", and their unequivocal conclusion and advice is this **"DON'T ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS!"**

Whether you answer them with the idea of trying to extricate yourself, to explain away all suspicions so that they should let you go; or whether you answer them with the idea of confessing your own part and trying to shield other comrades; or trying to influence, to convert, so to say, the spies and prosecutors—the result is always against the interests of our Party. Willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, seeing it or not, you will yield some information to them, if you answer their questions. Mere confirmation of information that they show they already possess may be of great help to them in checking up the reports of their stool-pigeons and spies, and in confronting other comrades, at hearings or in court, with your testimony as a proof of their claims.

Do not believe them, however, when they tell you that other comrades are confessing and giving them this and that information;—that is only one of their many tricks and ruses, by which they will try to get you to begin to answer their questions. Also remember that they have their spies and stool-pigeons in all jails. Don't give your confidence to a "jail-mate" unless you are quite sure that he may be trusted.

As to the idea that we can make any propaganda through the court room,—it is impossible. The judge will frustrate your efforts to give a clear exposition of your ideas, and will confuse and provoke you. The press (even the Socialist press) will distort and misrepresent your utterances, or simply ignore them. As to agitation and propaganda through our own papers and leaflets, it can be carried on just the same when you don't answer any question, as when you do,—and perhaps even better.

Bear in mind the appalling danger of betraying your comrades, betraying the Party,—unconsciously, against your will, but opening them up to the attacks of our enemies just the same,—**IF YOU ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS,—and you will resolve NOT TO ANSWER THEM, if arrested, just the same as you are determined NOT TO BE A TRAITOR.**

Central Executive Committee  
Communist Party of America.

Amter's appeal for American recognition of the Soviet Union on the grounds that world trade relations would be improved was scarcely more reassuring than contemporary Russian proposals with regard to mutually profitable exchange of nonstrategic materials. No matter how much anything is needed for domestic consumption, the U. S. S. R. will gladly export it in order to stir up trouble abroad.

*Inprecorr* (*International Press Correspondence*) was the second leading Comintern publication. Authorized by the Third World Congress, it continued to appear until the middle of 1938. On July 2 of that year, it became *World News and Views*. At the beginning of 1954 the name was shortened to *World Views*, with publication continuing in London.

#### EXHIBIT No. 4

[*Inprecorr*, December 29, 1923. Pp. 845-846]

### AMERICA AND THE RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By I. Amter

The question of closer relations with Soviet Russia if not of recognition is occupying the center of the stage in America at the present time. A number of United States Senators and Congressmen visited Soviet Russia last summer; business men and bankers have inspected the country. All of them, with the exception of Congressman Britten, have spoken in favor of closer relations with Soviet Russia; a few have been even for recognition.

The present discussion is the climax of a campaign that has been going on for the past year, under the particular leadership of Senator Borah. Although Borah was prevented from visiting Soviet Russia this past summer, he has been the most outspoken champion of recognition. He has been able to mobilize considerable sentiment for his position, not only among the workers and farmers, but also among the industrialists and financiers.

The sentiment among the business men and bankers has been based on practical needs. Steel production has been carried on in the United States at a tremendous speed. The country has not been able to absorb all the production: the boom that started about a year ago is practically over, and the steel mills are beginning to slow down. The United States Steel Corporation, which was at one time working at 95% capacity, is now operating at 80 per cent; the Independent mills are working only at 60 to 60% capacity. There is a huge surplus of iron and steel and the unfilled tonnage is diminishing.

For several years, both during and since the War, America has been turning more and more to the South American market. But South America is in no position to take a large portion of American production for the simple reason that South America is an exporter of raw material, primarily to Europe. Europe is unable to buy this material, and as a consequence trade with South America is slowing down. Hence American steel manufacturers are turning to the biggest market that the world has to offer, viz., Soviet Russia. The reports of travelers to Soviet Russia have convinced the manufacturers that Soviet Russia is solvent and that industry and agriculture are on a stable basis. They feel convinced that Russian Communism is on the wane, and business with Soviet Russia on a sound foundation.

The French occupation of the Ruhr and the union of the iron of Alsace-Lorraine with the coal of the Ruhr has placed France in a most favored position. This union is making France a formidable com-

petitor in the steel market of the world. The United States does not look upon this competition with equanimity. France, furthermore, is seeking closer relations with Soviet Russia. Several missions have already visited Russia; several English missions have likewise been in Soviet Russia and have reported most favorably on trade relations. Only the United States stands outside: her situation in Europe is fraught with danger.

The farmers of America are in a serious situation. There is a huge surplus of wheat on the market: 200,000,000 bushels last year and 160,000,000 from this year's crop. This, despite the fact that wheat production was reduced this year. The farmers have been clamoring for a reduction of the freight rates, as a means of relieving their position. In 1913, the railroads received 13% of the price of corn, in 1923, the railroads and distributing agencies took 47% of the price of corn. The railroads, realizing their power, refused to make any reduction. The farmers again looked to the restoration of the German market. This has been frustrated by the chaotic condition into which Germany has been plunged by capitalist machinations and the occupation of the Ruhr. When Coolidge announced a loan to Germany to the amount of 150,000,000 dollars for the purchase of food in the United States, the farmers applauded him. A representative of the Farm Bureau, who was in Berlin at the time, declared that the farmers of America would support the idea. But this again has for the time being been thwarted. America does not yet consider the moment propitious for taking a hand in the German situation and settling it with American gold.

American farmers have been frightened by the news of the increasing quantities of grain that Soviet Russia is putting on the international market. Russian grain is cheaper than American grain: there is great danger for the American farmer that his produce will be forced off the European market. Hence he demands that the American government come to an arrangement with the Russian peasants with regard to grain prices on the international market. America is approaching an election and the six million farmer votes are not to be despised. Coolidge, therefore, is listening to their demands, not only to appease the rebelliousness which is rising, but also to capture their votes! A very skilful election manoeuvre!

Before the earthquake in Japan, America became apprehensive of the growing power of Japan and her encroachments in the Far East. The Japanese disaster has put an end to the aims of Japanese Imperialism for some time to come. Even though the Japanese government announces that the state of Japan is sound, all of her resources, nonetheless, will be required to restore the industries and buildings that have been destroyed. Had conditions been as before the earthquake, America would have needed the aid of Soviet Russia in the Far East. As things are today, America will take advantage of Japan's embarrassment to draw Soviet Russia nearer and make a friend of her for future purposes.

Hughes is taking an intransigent stand. He has been against relations with Soviet Russia, as being "unfit" for contact with "civilized" nations. He roundly declares that America must have nothing to do with Soviet Russia. He stated most recently, during the discussion in the Cabinet, that either this condition must continue, or America must recognize Soviet Russia de jure. This is sheer

bluff, for Hughes would oppose nothing more energetically than any kind of recognition. Hughes is a possible choice as the candidate of the Republican Party. If Coolidge is trying to disarm the Progressives and is making a bid for the nomination, Hughes is going him one better and offering the Progressives still more.

Samuel Gompers is an inveterate foe of Soviet Russia. On fitting and unfitting occasions, he assails Sovietism and Communism. At the convention of the American Federation of Labour, a resolution calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia was overwhelmingly defeated. Gompers has not the rank and file of the organized labour movement behind him. Gompers' dictum in political matters, and that of the American Federation of Labour have no weight with the American workers, who act as they please. Coolidge knows that and disregards Gompers. The fact, however is that large masses of workers, without being sympathetic to Soviet Russia, demand "Hands off".

The political, industrial and financial situation is placing the question of Soviet Russia before America as an issue. Elections, too, are coming. Borah may well be satisfied with things.

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In the following report to the Comintern, the Workers (Communist) Party of America declared its intention to bolshevize itself according to the directives of the Fifth World Congress held the previous summer in Moscow (sec. C, exhibit No. 9). When all the jargon connected with this slogan was translated into practice, bolshevization was found to mean becoming a party completely submissive to Stalin.<sup>1</sup>

Max Bedacht, who authored the present report, was a longtime Communist leader. Although the CPUSA expelled him in October 1948 on charges of factionalism, Bedacht by his own admission continued to be a firm believer in Marxist principles. On other points, Bedacht's testimony was evasive—e. g., about the International Workers Order (IWO) activities in the United States and Spain and especially with regard to certain matters involving espionage.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 5

[Inprecorr, September 24, 1925. Pp. 1056-1058]

### THE FOURTH CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS' (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

By Max Bedacht (Chicago)

The Workers Communist Party of America held its Fourth National Convention beginning August 21st. The Convention lasted fully ten days and was significant in more than one respect.

For several months prior to the opening of the Convention, a bitter fractional struggle was carried on within the Party. The basis for this struggle was a fundamental difference that had gradually developed among the leading groups of the Party. Some comrades of the leading strata, mostly engaged in the trade union work of the Party, displayed a distinct trades union ideology. In the terminology of these comrades, the working class is synonymous to the workers organised in trades unions, and the labour aristocracy is synonymous

<sup>1</sup> Louis F. Budenz, *The Techniques of Communism*, Chicago, Regnery, 1954, pp. 114-115.

<sup>2</sup> Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., October 16, 1939, vol. 10, pp. 5825-5925. *Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage*, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 1st sess., November 8, 1949, pp. 3542-3552.

to the labour bureaucracy. But the misconceptions resulting from such confusing premises are not the only ones. These comrades insist, if not in theory, but surely in practice, that the Party is merely an instrument for the conquest of the trades unions.

This trade union ideology resents the "interference" of political policies and campaigns in the trades union work. When a political united front manoeuvre of the Party leads to the unmasking of fake progressives in the trades unions, then these comrades do not so much attack the "progressives" for their treachery, but they centre their attacks on the "politicians" in the Party for having unmasked them.

Such a manoeuvre, that of the conference of July 3rd, 1923 in Chicago, which ended in the formation of the Federated Farmer Labour Party, led to the unmasking of the "progressive" leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labour. Some of the comrades leading in the trades union work of the Workers Party were connected by ties of personal friendship with those Chicago "progressives". The break with them was felt by these comrades not as a politically inevitable event, but as a personal injury to themselves. So these comrades decided that if the political direction of the Party would determine finally the manoeuvres of the Party workers in the trades unions, then they would wrest the leadership of the Party from the "politicals" and thus prevent further interference of "politics" in the Party's trades union work. Consequently, these comrades organised a "revolt" which led to their getting a majority of the delegates at the Third Convention of the Party in the New Year, 1924. In this Convention, the Party witnessed the anomaly that the report of the CEC. was adopted unanimously, that the political theses of the CEC. were accepted almost unanimously, but that the CEC. failed to get a majority in the elections for a new Central Committee. The "trades union wing" had no political programme with which to defeat the Central Executive Committee. But it got the votes. The political unripeness of our Party manifested in this incident, finally led to the recent factional struggles in the Party.

The new majority of the CEC. elected at the Third Convention suffered from a lack of a unifying concept. It saw all phenomena and manifestations of the class struggle separate and distinct from each other without understanding, or looking for, the inner connections between these events. One of the results of this lack of Marxian-Leninist understanding is a complete misunderstanding and misapplication of the united front policy. Instead of using the united front policy as an instrument of unification, not only unifying the isolated and sporadic struggles of the workers, but also teaching the workers the inner connections of all the causes for the various struggles, these comrades reduced the united front to an empty phrase. A system of multiple united fronts was initiated which began by promising to set up a new and separate united front for everything, and which ended in destroying the only big political united front movement our Party was engaged in since the "political" CEC. initiated the Labour Party policy and campaign in 1922.

When this somersault was performed by the Central Committee, the differences in the Party crystallized into distinct factional formations.

In October 1924 the majority of the Central Committee rejected the proposal of the pro-Labour Party group to introduce through the left wing in the American Federation of Labour Convention a resolution demanding the formation of a Labour Party.

A few days after the conclusion of the presidential elections in November, the majority of the Central Committee passed, over the protests of the then minority, a declaration that the Labour Party movement is dead.

Finally, later in November 1924, the then majority adopted a thesis declaring against the Labour Party policy and campaign and denouncing the pro-Labour Party group in the Committee as opportunists, liquidators, and reformists.

The differences in the Party were finally submitted to the Communist International. But not after some struggle. The combined experience of our World Party was to help our American Section out of its entanglement.

The Comintern decided for a Labour Party. But that did not settle the controversy. The "trades unionist" anti-Labour Party group of the Central Committee realised that the decision of the Comintern was a political defeat, which in any ripe communist Party would lead to the defeat of the Executive Committee in a convention. To avoid such a defeat our right wing therefore decided to raise false issues and to claim a victory at the Comintern. The C. I. in its decision declared that it had detected errors on both sides. This sentence was ridden to death. The anti-Labour Party group completely forgot its political duty toward the Party. It had submitted to the Comintern a general orientation for judgment; so had the left wing of the party. The Comintern accepted the general line of the left wing and rejected that of the right. While the general line of the left was found correct, the Comintern rightly criticised tactical errors made by that group in applying a correct line. The right wing seized upon these criticisms as the main issue and thus prevented a thorough discussion of its major error. Thus it prevented the Party from really learning to understand not only that the old CEC. majority had made a mistake, but the nature and basis of the mistake. Only a clear understanding of the nature and the basic causes of a mistake is a guarantee against the repetition of it. The right wing prevented this Leninist self-criticism in order to be able to further exploit the prejudices which it had created against the left wing on the basis of its former demagogic accusations of reformism, opportunism, and pink flagism.

But the comrades of the then majority of the Central Committee were not satisfied with a politically dishonest fight against the left wing. They were determined to retain the leadership of the Party at all costs. With this aim in mind, they initiated a campaign of suspensions and expulsions. In Cleveland this campaign found its classic climax. Branches which supported the left wing of the CEC. were changed into supporters of the anti-Labour Party group by suspending from membership as many as thirty left wing adherents in one single branch. When these suspended comrades were reinstated by a decision of a Party commission established by action of the C.I., the District Organiser found new ground for suspension. The District Organiser in this district, to assure his domination took upon himself even the right of two votes in committees.



With such actions as a preliminary the Fourth Convention of the Workers Communist Party began under dangerous auspices. Dual delegations presented themselves from the most important districts, like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cleveland.

The political theses and resolutions submitted to the convention were adopted unanimously in the Party Commission. The struggle in the Convention therefore centred on the credentials and on the past actions of the Executive Committee.

The report of the minority of the credentials committee disclosed such utterly uncommunist manoeuvres that it seemed impossible to appease the outraged delegation of the left wing and prevent a split.

But the fever heat of resentment was overcome by the loyalty to, and the confidence of the comrades in the Comintern. The left wing delegation returned from its caucus to the convention and declared that under no conditions will it permit itself to be provoked into a split.

All throughout the debates of the convention, the fundamental differences between the groups manifested themselves. The lack of a political concept which could unify all the activities and all the analyses of the Party manifested itself on the one hand,—and an effort to give such a unifying concept was apparent on the other hand.

The debates were bitter but contributed to the clarity of the Party. The role of the Party in the class struggle was discussed, on the concrete basis of American conditions. A clear understanding of the resolution of the Second World Congress of the Comintern on that matter was thus created.

The real object of the Party's work in the trades unions,—not as industrial, but as political work—was made clear. This will contribute to a more conscientious application of the Party's forces to this task. It will help to eliminate the dangerous ideological division of the Party into trades unionists, and politicals. It will establish as the most important prerequisite and fundamentally necessary qualification for a Party member, that of being a Communist.

The Convention took up the problem of a serious reformist crystallization in the Party. This social democratic wing centred around Ludwig Lore, the editor of the New York Volkszeitung. Lore was an ally of the "trades unionists" in their revolt against the "politicals" in the Third Convention of the Party. As a true opportunist he supported the criticism of the "trades unionists", by the "politicals", but voted with the former to oust the latter from leadership. From the convention in January 1924 Lore wired to his paper that "the Trotskyites have won the Party". This was never repudiated by the majority. Lore and his adherents became an integral part of the majority caucus.

With the bolshevization of the Party, which manifested itself in an ever-accelerating tendency away from abstractions and toward concretization and action, the social-democratic remnants in the Party came into an ever sharper conflict with the Party's policies. Opposition to these policies became fundamental opposition to action. In the period when this reformist crystallization took definite form, it was imperatively necessary that the Party should join issue with it and thus preserve the unity and the purity of the Party. But the fact that the Lore group was an integral part of the leading group in the Central Committee favoured this opportunist crystallization.

The then minority took up the question of Loreism with the Comintern at the Fifth World Congress in April 1924. The CI. supported the left wing and condemned Lore and Loreism. But the alliance of the "trades unionist" majority with Lore continued. Only a new decision of the Comintern made at the last Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee in April 1925 at the urgent request of the left wing severed the ties between Lore and the majority. But the division is by no means definite. The bulk of the rank and file which is under the ideological influence of Lore and Loreism, together with the least active sections of our Party, supported the anti Labour Party right wing in its struggle for further leadership before the convention. But the decision of the Comintern succeeded in driving home to the Party as a whole the seriousness of the Loreistic disease of our Party. As a result of this it was possible to unite the majority and minority fractions for a unanimously accepted proposal to expel Lore from the Party. On the initiative of the left wing the removal of Askeli, another Loreite, from the position of editor on the Finnish Daily, "Tyomies", was also decided unanimously.

The pro-Labour Party left wing did everything in its power to keep the discussion on the level of a political debate. This was very hard because of the right wing's persistent efforts to lead the discussion away from political fundamentals into the field of petty details. But in spite of all that, the Convention proceeded under the slogan of bolshevization. The very debates of the convention were a contribution to bolshevization. Whatever efforts might have been made to divert this main aim were finally frustrated by the Comintern when it made and transmitted to the convention an eleventh hour decision in which among other things it stated categorically that:

"It has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg group (pro Labour Party left wing group) is more loyal to the decisions of the Comintern and stands closer to its view."

This CI. decision had the effect of a bombshell in the convention. The majority, which, by its questionable methods characterized by the CI. as "excessive mechanical and ultra fractional", had succeeded in having a majority of the delegates, after a long struggle in its caucus submitted to this decision. A Central Executive Committee was elected, with equal representation from both groups and a representative of our World Party as chairman.

Under the leadership of this Committee, the decisions of the Fourth Convention will be put into effect. The reorganisation of the Party as a necessary pre-requisite to its bolshevization will be the immediate task. Out of a union of numerous language federations, each one in itself a political party, this Executive Committee will weld a unified centralised Communist Party, worthy of membership in the Comintern and adapted to the tremendous tasks awaiting it in the American class struggle.

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Pepper's report to the Communist International was intended to reassure the Kremlin leaders that the American Communist Party had taken the correct turn to the left, as indicated for the so-called third (1928-34) period. During the 5 preceding years, an era of "partial stabilization of capitalism" was supposed to have prevailed (sec. C, exhibit No. 11). A careful reading of Pepper's analysis of the American scene could not have appeared overassuring to Stalin. Despite

the fact that he parroted the correct leftist slogans, Pepper's line of reasoning sounded very much like the "American exceptionalism" with which he and his Lovestoneite associates were soon to be charged.

Pepper began his Communist career in Hungary under the name of Josef Pogany. About the year 1923, he was sent as a Comintern representative (C. I. rep) to the United States.<sup>1</sup> One of his earliest assignments in this country was to make the Communist Party "more American." Having been largely a leftist outgrowth of certain immigrant groups, the American Communist movement resembled more a Tower of Babel than the bolshevized monolithic organization required by the Comintern.<sup>2</sup>

Eventually, the assignment to Americanize the Communists in this country proved to be Pepper's undoing. When Stalin tried to send him to Korea in 1927, Pepper managed to get himself lost in China.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the Japanese were holding Korea and making very short shrift of every Communist whom they caught. Unfortunately, Pepper's stopover in China got him involved in the Canton uprising of 1927 (see D, exhibit No. 89). There he opposed Stalin's disastrous policies. When he finally made his way back to Moscow, Bukharin befriended him. In 1929, he was expelled from the Comintern and disappeared from sight.

### EXHIBIT No. 6

[*The Communist*, April 1928. Pp. 219-227]

## AMERICA AND THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By JOHN PEPPER

The last plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International initiated many important changes in the tactics of the Comintern. The British, French, and Chinese problems, the question of Russian and international Trotskyism and the trade union question, in connection with preparations for the World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, were in the forefront of the discussions of the Ninth Plenum.

The analysis of the Chinese situation and the policies of the Communist Party of China were considered in general on the same basis as outlined in my article, "After the Canton Uprising" (March issue of *The Communist*).

The Comintern considered the problems of the most important European countries in their concrete manifestations, and tried to meet the issues of each individual country in the most concrete, realistic way. At the same time we have to state that, on the whole, the policies of the Comintern showed a marked general tendency to the left—as expressed in the resolutions of the last plenum—a marked tendency to sharpen the tactics of the Communist parties of Europe.

In Great Britain an abrupt turn against the Labor Party on the whole front; in France the sharpest struggle possible not only against the petty-bourgeois left bloc but also against the Socialist Party; in Germany the intensification of the fight against the Social-Democratic Party and trade-union leadership; relentless struggle against Russian and international Trotskyism, not as an ultra-left tendency but as a right-wing Social Democratic deviation; a general sharpening of Communist tactics on the trade union field; not so much united front on the top, but all emphasis on the united front from below with the masses; not so much driving the trade-union leadership to lead the

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, London, Muller, n. d. (1954 or 1955), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Ebon, *World Communism Today*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1948, pp. 276-277. Giltow, *I Confess*, pp. 130, 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547.

economic struggles of the workers, but rather a strike strategy by which the Communists seek to gain leadership in all economic movements and strikes of the organized workers; continuation of Communist activities in the existing trade unions, but at the same time in a whole series of countries the main emphasis on the broadest masses of unorganized workers; penetration of the old trade unions, but at the same time organization of new unions—these are the most important changes in the policies of the Communist International in 1928. To sum up briefly: the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern represents a general turn to the left in the European tactics of the Communist International.

#### WHAT THE LEFT TURN MEANS

Two questions arise for us American Communists in connection with the last plenum of the Communist International:

1. Is the general turn to the left in the policies of the Communist International justified by objective conditions in Europe?

2. Does that left turn in Europe mean necessarily a sharp turn to the left on the part of the Communist Party of America?

The years 1928 and 1929 will be years of general elections in Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States of America. What will be the tactics of the Communist International in the coming elections in Germany, France, and Great Britain? The Communist International will emphasize the independent role of the Communist parties in these countries, will emphasize the necessity of drawing a clear-cut dividing line between the Communist parties on the one hand and all other parties—capitalist as well as Social-Democratic or Labor parties—on the other hand. The tactics of the Comintern will be against any bloc of the Communist parties of Germany, France, and Great Britain with the Social Democratic or Labor Parties of these countries.

Up until now the Communist Party of Great Britain supported the Labor Party in its election campaigns. Of course, it was always a qualified support. The British Communists supported the Labor Party candidates as "the rope supports the hanged man."

In France, likewise, the practice of the Communist Party was to try to form a united front not only with the rank and file of the Socialist Party but also with its leaders; and there were situations in which our Party even went so far as to support the candidates of the Socialist Party and of the petty-bourgeois left bloc against the right wing of the bourgeoisie around Poincaré.

In Germany in the last presidential elections, in which the issue "monarchy vs. republic" played a big role, the policy of the Comintern was to try to form a bloc with the Social Democrats and trade unions to put up a working-class candidate against Hindenburg. The Communist Party of Germany itself (then under the ultra-left leadership of Ruth Fischer and Maslov) followed a different policy, and became in many respects isolated from the masses of the working class, due to the fact that it appeared as the disrupter of the forces of the working-class united front. It was even dubbed a helper of Hindenburg and his monarchist followers.

## A NEW WORLD SITUATION

In 1928 there will be a complete break with these former policies, and the Communist parties of France, Germany, and Great Britain will not make any election alliances with the Social Democrats, with the Labor Party, and even less with any petty-bourgeois left bloc. Why? What are the reasons for this change? What were the factors in the situation which necessitated such a change in our policies? It is necessary to enumerate at least the most important of these factors:

1. Capitalism is on the down-grade in Europe. The crisis in European imperialism is especially acute in Great Britain.

2. A growing tendency towards State Capitalism is in evidence in a whole series of important countries.

3. The war danger is growing, and an increased tension is manifest in all foreign relations due to the ever greater competition for markets.

4. The general trend of the European working class is to the left. The workers of Great Britain, robbed of all their privileges of the previous period, are suffering from unemployment and general insecurity of living conditions, and have learned much from their experiences in the General Strike, the Miners' Strike, etc. The working class of Germany went through a whole series of economic crises and unemployment periods; and now after a brief period of capitalist prosperity, is again experiencing a new, sudden wave of unemployment. The French working class has been suffering all the tortures of inflation and deflation. There is a growing discontent developing among the masses throughout Europe. At the same time the whole leadership of the European Social Democratic parties, as well as of the Labor Party, is showing a marked tendency to go further to the right. There was never a more treacherous period in the whole history of reformist leadership than at the present time in Europe.

5. The working class of Europe has had a great deal of experience during the last few years with all kinds of Social-Democratic, petty-bourgeois left bloc, and Labor Party governments. All of these governments without exception betrayed the working class, did not accomplish anything towards improving the material conditions of the masses, in every respect served the interests of the bourgeoisie, were unable to relieve the tension in the international situation, and continued the imperialist policies of the capitalists against disarmament and for economic and military competition.

6. The Social-Democrats in France and Germany, as well as the heroes of the Labor Party in Great Britain, are promising the workers "left-wing" victories in 1928 and 1929. They are bragging already that 1928 will be a "left year." They are trying to create the illusion that in France the elections will again sweep into power the petty-bourgeois left bloc, which will form an alliance with the Social-Democrats. In Germany they forecast the defeat of the present bourgeois coalition and the victory of the Social-Democratic and so-called democratic-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. The whole policy of the British Labor Party consists today in promising the victory of the Labor Party in the next general elections and the cleaning-out of the Baldwin Government through parliamentary means. There are possibilities of a new "lib-lab" situation, of a McDonald-Lloyd George coalition movement, as the outcome of the next elections.

In earlier situations it was necessary that the Communists should "support" the Social-Democrats in Germany, the Socialists in France, and the Labor Party in Great Britain in their attempts to get into "power." It was necessary because that was the only way to show the masses—the masses never can learn through propaganda alone but through their experience—that all these heroes of reformism, upon attaining power, do nothing for the working class and betray the interests of the masses in every respect. Today there is no need to repeat that demonstration, because all these Social-Democratic, Socialist, and Labor Party leaders have already been in power once and have unmasked themselves to a great extent in the eyes of the masses.

#### THE GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

7. A few years ago in most of the European countries we had only small Communist parties, which did not have the possibilities of reaching broad masses, which were not able to gain the attention of the working class. It was necessary at that time for the Communists, if they wanted any connection with the masses, to appear before the working class as "supporters" of those reformist, Socialist, and labor parties which at the time had the confidence of the workers. Today there is a marked change in this respect. The Communist Party of Germany is already a powerful mass party. In France our Party has become a mass party in the last few years. Even in Great Britain, though the Communist Party is still numerically weak, the Communist Party plus the Minority Movement represents a sufficient mass basis to go forward against the Labor Party on the whole front. The more likelihood there is that there will be a so-called "left year" in Europe, the more important it is for the Communist parties to establish themselves as independent forces, as the only revolutionary forces, as the only true revolutionary parties of the working class, as the revolutionary opposition to all these future sham working-class governments. The more likelihood there is that there will be a so-called "left year" in Europe, the more necessary it is that the Communist parties should see clearly that their struggle must be directed against two enemies: not only against the parties and governments of the bourgeoisie but also against the parties and governments of the various Social-Democrats and laborites.

#### LABOR PARTY TACTICS IN AMERICA

Now as to the situation in America: Do the new policies of the Communist International for the European countries mean necessarily the application of the same policies to America? Can we apply in a mechanical way the European policies of the European Communist parties to American conditions? Is it necessary to make a general shift in the policies of the Communist Party of America to the left? In other words, to put the question more concretely, shall we abandon the present Labor Party policy of the Communist Party of America or not?

The only way to give a correct answer to these questions is to analyze the present American situation. If the present American situation is on the whole the same as the present European situation, then certainly there should be no marked difference between the above-outlined European policies and the policies we should follow

in America. But if there is a basic difference between European and American conditions at present, then it would be a major mistake to apply thoughtlessly, in a mechanical way, European policies to basically different American conditions.

An analysis shows that conditions in America are basically different from those in Europe. It is not necessary for me to give a detailed analysis of the American situation, because that was given in the last thesis of the Comintern on America and in the careful and detailed analysis of the thesis of the February plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the American Party. Here I shall point out only some of the fundamental differences between the present European and American situations:

1. American capitalism is still on the up-grade as compared with European capitalism.

2. American imperialism is still increasing in power on almost every front of world politics—a striking contrast to the status of British imperialism.

3. The American working class as a whole is in a privileged position compared with the European working class. America has the largest stratum of labor aristocracy. In no other country is there such a gap between the upper stratum of the working class and the true proletarian masses.

4. The American working class has not yet any mass political party of its own; its bulk still adheres to the capitalist parties. The working class of America has not yet reached that stage of class-consciousness and homogeneity which is the prerequisite of constituting itself as an independent political factor.

5. There is no marked tendency of a left trend on a national scale in the American working class.

The five factors enumerated above are fundamental factors of the present American situation. Not to see them would amount to political blindness; to be afraid to face them would amount to political cowardice. If these five factors alone constituted the situation which serves as a basis for all the activities of the Communist Party of America, then we should be compelled to draw very definite conclusions in shaping our policies. Such a situation would greatly restrict the activities of a Communist Party in America. To meet such a situation the main policy of the Communist Party of America would have to be the carrying out of Communist propaganda (at the same time, of course, participating in all activities of the working class wherever possible). To express it boldly: in such a situation the Communist Party of America would be able to exist only as a mere propaganda society. If such were the case, then certainly there would be no place for any Labor Party slogan. We should not forget that the Labor Party policy, as carried out in the years 1922–24, was based on two conditions:

1. The general political backwardness of the American working class. The Labor Party slogan had the function of a bridge between the backward masses and the Communist Party.

2. The general fermentation of the American working class in the war and post-war period, which manifested itself in the big strikes of 1919 and 1922 as well as in the mass Labor Party movements of 1922–1924.

It would be a mistake to think that the political backwardness of the American working class alone served as the basis for our Labor

Party policy. It is quite true that the Labor Party slogan would have been useless, if there had been any possibility of getting the masses of the working class directly into the Communist Party; but we should not forget that the Labor Party slogan would have been equally futile, if there had not already been a deep-going ferment in the broad masses of the working class, if these masses had not already begun to orientate themselves away from the capitalist parties. No Labor Party slogan is necessary in those countries in which the bulk of the working class has already left the camp of the capitalist parties. No mass Labor Party organization is possible under conditions in which the confidence of a broad stratum of the masses in capitalist parties has not yet been shaken. In the period of 1925-27 there was an almost general depression in the American labor movement. Therefore, the slogan of the Labor Party remained correct as a *propaganda slogan*, but it could not fulfill its function as a *slogan of action*.

#### NEW FACTORS IN AMERICA

The five factors listed above do not constitute a complete analysis of the present American situation. In addition to them there are other important factors determining the situation in the United States which create sufficient possibilities for real mass work on a large scale on the part of the Communist Party at the present time. Without trying to analyze them fully, I shall enumerate these additional factors:

1. The aggressive imperialist policies of the United States are creating many complications in world politics, and it is inevitable that these complications will reflect themselves in the internal situation of the country as well. United States imperialism is becoming ever more the dominating factor in Latin America, pushing out Great Britain to a growing extent in the Latin American countries; but the very success of the United States calls for a growing resistance on the part of the Latin American countries against United States imperialism. The increasingly aggressive participation of the United States in world politics makes necessary the building up of an extensive navy and merchant fleet at the expense of the State. The increasing export of capital is creating a tendency to break down the present high wall of "protective" tariff. A lowering of the tariff would have as a necessary sequence the breaking down of the present prohibition of immigration of labor, which would mean taking away the most valuable privilege of the American labor aristocracy. There is already a marked tendency of large strata of workers, farmers, and petty-bourgeois elements to resist imperialist aggressiveness.

2. The first violent stage of the agricultural crisis has been liquidated by the ruining of hundreds of thousands of farmers and the driving of a farm population of one million into the cities, but it would be wrong to say that there is no agricultural crisis in America today. The basic reason for the agricultural crisis is the existence of the most monopolistic trusts in the world on the one hand and the unorganized, atomized status of the technically backward masses of farmers on the other.

3. The very technical and organizational progress of industries calls for partial crises (textile, shoe, mining, needle trades), which stir up broad strata of workers. The industrialization of the South,



which tends to create a new industrial center in the southern part of the United States, spells unemployment, wage cuts, and general insecurity of living for hundreds of thousands of workers in New England. The crisis in the mining industry serves as the basis of a general fomentation among the 800,000 coal miners, bringing about such a radicalization of the workers in the coal mines that it can become the starting point of a general radicalization process of the workers in other basic industries.

4. The present economic depression has already created mass unemployment on a large scale. The unemployed workers are living today on their savings, but these savings cannot last forever, and prolonged unemployment will mean more suffering to the bulk of the unskilled workers here than in any other country due to the lack of any kind of social insurance. Not only the whole industrial life but the private households of millions of workers are based on installment buying, and an industrial crisis and a prolonged period of unemployment would mean not only the stopping of wages but the shaking of the very foundations of each working-class household.

5. The centralization and bureaucratization of the United States Government is making headway all the time. The Government apparatus is in a growing degree and ever more frankly becoming merged with the apparatus of finance capital and big business. Every strike movement tends to bring home to the workers the strike-breaking role of the Government, which uses its full power (and that power is today the most powerful State apparatus in the world) to crush the simplest, most modest and insignificant strike movements of all categories of workers. Manifold tendencies of a special type of State Capitalism manifest themselves in America to an increased extent.

The five decisive factors just enumerated represent tendencies which counteract the first five factors analyzed. If we attempt to summarize the effect of all these above-analyzed tendencies and counter-tendencies of the situation in the United States, we must come to the following conclusions: On the one hand, there is no need to push the Communist Party back into a mere propaganda stage, because there is a sufficiently broad basis for immediate mass work of a revolutionary working-class political party. On the other hand, there does not exist such a marked general trend to the left on a national scale in the working class which would create the immediate possibility of getting really large strata of the working class directly into the Communist Party.

We are now going through a period of transition. The Labor Party slogan will, in all likelihood, not be transformed into a slogan of action in 1928, but it certainly will play a central rôle as a propaganda slogan this year, and it has prospects of fulfilling the functions of a slogan of action in the not far distant future. At present we have a period of transition. On the one hand, our analysis cannot be based only on the fact of imperialist prosperity in America; on the other hand, we cannot yet speak of any general left trend of the working class. In this period of transition the Labor Party will play all the more important a role, because there are no signs now of the setting up of a petty-bourgeois third party as we had in the form of the LaFollette movement in 1924, and because it becomes more and more clear that a Labor Party in America can be built only against the opposition of

the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party leadership. There is no need to revise the policies of the Comintern or the Communist Party of America on the Labor Party. The only political issue of the ruling Republican Party today is "Prosperity." Economic life as it exists—not in the propaganda sheets of the capitalists but in reality—has already replaced prosperity by depression. If the present depression is deepened into a prolonged crisis, it will mean the creation of a broad mass basis for a Labor Party, a Labor Party behind which the Communist Party will be the driving and organizing force.

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The following excerpt was taken from a report made to the Sixth World Congress. On this occasion, Lovestone pledged the American comrades to greater illegal activity and to sabotage of the military potential of the United States.

This committee has taken testimony with regard to the Moscow training of American comrades to do the work pledged in 1928 by Jay Lovestone.<sup>1</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 7

[Inprecorr, September 1, 1928. Pp. 1024-1025]

#### COMRADE LOVESTONE (U. S. A.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The only source of conscious vigorous opposition to American imperialism and to the imperialist war danger is the Workers Party. The American Communists have broken in the main with pacifist errors, though we still have considerable work to do to rid ourselves of all pacifist illusions. The pacifist danger in the United States is great.

In fighting this danger we have placed our Communist position very sharply. Thus the keynote at our last National Nominating Convention was "turn the imperialist war into a civil war".

The Party has done considerable practical work on a limited scale, it is true, in the fight against the war danger. Relative to the war in Nicaragua, demonstrations have been organised before Navy Yards and on the eve of the sailing of the marines. This was the case in New York and Philadelphia. Leaflets were also distributed in the Boston Navy Yard amongst the sailors and marines. There took place a distribution of letters to the second shipment of marines from Norfolk, Virginia. A beginning has been made in practical work in the navy. Here we note the fraternisation of the Young Communist League members with sailors in Philadelphia. The beginning of work amongst these forces on the West Coast can be registered after the overcoming of the most serious pacifist mistakes our Party has made. We have already begun some work in the army through the sending in of some members. We have formulated demands for the soldiers. Here also can be noted a successful distribution of leaflets to soldiers from the inside on the eve of the sailing for service in the colonies. During the war manoeuvres in New York, there was an adequate distribution of leaflets. Our press is being utilised increasingly among the military forces. We have established a special servicemen's and ex-servicemen's column in the "Daily Worker". A mailing list of soldiers and sailors for the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Paul Crouch. Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 81st Cong., 1st sess., May 6, 1949, pp. 181-220.

receiving weekly propaganda letters is being built up. A good reaction to some of these letters has already been evidenced.

The National Guard was recently called to do strikebreaking duty in the New Bedford Strike. We issued an appeal which had some effect and increased the difficulties for obtaining volunteers to serve in this capacity.

In reference to the attitude towards the C. M. T. C. (Citizens' Military Training Camps) the policy has been changed for some time. We no longer boycott this institution but on the contrary send selected workers into it.

In all our propaganda work, we are emphasising defeatist slogans. This is particularly to be noticed in the campaign against the war on Nicaragua where we openly called upon the American marines to desert the forces of Wall Street and join the army of Sandino. The Party is engaged actively in mobilising sentiment for the victory of the Nicaraguan forces led by Sandino among the American marines.

Our "Hands Off China" campaign was particularly successful in the way of street demonstrations. A very important section of our anti-war work is the campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union.

We must work out the concrete practical ways of securing the maximum co-operation between the American Party and the Latin American Section of the Comintern. The American Party can be of real help to the Chinese Communist Party through the mobilising of the resources amongst the Chinese masses in America. Here also the two Parties should work out a number of practical joint activities.

The American Party has not viewed the imperialist war danger as an abstraction but as a concrete immediate danger. Thus, our women's work has concerned itself appreciably with fighting the war danger. In our work amongst the Negroes we have splendid opportunities for mobilising masses to fight against the war danger. The special mistreatment of Negro soldiers, as evidenced in the brutality of the Houston martyrs in which Negro soldiers were given the maximum penalty, shows us the extent to which the American bourgeoisie are ready to go to crush the Negro masses.

Our Party has also secured some results in organising World War Veterans. This has found appreciable support in certain sections of the organised trade union movement.

In preparation for the impending war danger our Party must pay greater attention to the setting up of an illegal apparatus. One of the main ways in which we have fought pacifism and against the hostility to the Soviet Union is to be noted in our repeated propaganda for the Red Army and our efforts to popularise the Red Army amongst large sections of the American working class.

We have complicated problems in our anti-imperialist war work in the question of relations to the national bourgeoisie in such colonies as the Philippines. Here certain sections of the national bourgeoisie are increasingly becoming tools of the imperialists.

We have had the closest co-operation between the Central Committee and the Young Communist League in our anti-imperialist war work. This is in a measure responsible for the success we have had in such demonstrations as recently held in Wall Street on the 4th of July before the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company.

Let me close with the statement that our Party has worked out a concrete, practical programme to fight American imperialism, for the defence of the Soviet Union, and to beat back the rising war danger.

**Our Party is certain that with the increasing war danger and the clarification of the issues involved in fighting the war danger itself, we will become a more effective force in combating American imperialism and American Imperialist aggrandisement. (Applause.)**

The next 4 exhibits deal with the elimination of the major factions which plagued the American Communist movement during the first 10 years of its existence. Wolfe's report to the Comintern stressed the problem of the left deviationists or Trotskyites. Years later, one of the leading American Trotskyites wrote a history of his deviation, covering the periods before and after his expulsion.<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that expulsion from the CPUSA did not necessarily imply abandonment of Leninist ideology. Sometimes, also, public expulsion served as a cover for going underground at Stalin's command.

Bertram Wolfe, who castigated the Trotskyites at the beginning of 1929, got himself expelled later in the same year on charges of right deviation. Through the years, Wolfe showed considerable interest in Communist activities in Mexico (sec. D, exhibit No. 48). As late as 1948, his competent criticism of Stalin overflowed with adulation of Lenin and other Marxists.<sup>2</sup>

In the present exhibit he repeated Lovestone's pledge of illegality and anti-militarist agitation.

#### EXHIBIT No. 8

[Inprecorr, February 15, 1929. Pp. 129-130]

### RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO SIXTH AMERICAN PARTY CONGRESS

By Bertram D. Wolfe

Out of 99 delegates to the forthcoming convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to be held in New York March 1, 93 are industrial proletarians in their origin. Sixty-eight of these come directly from the mines, mills and factories and twenty-five are Party functionaries who formerly were industrial proletarians. The Detroit district convention of the Party held in the big American automobile centre was made up of 98% factory workers most of whom are working in automobile factories. This is the first convention of the American Communist Party where the majority of the delegates are workers in industry and not Party functionaries. It is part of the response of the Party to the proposals of the Sixth Congress that the American Party should hasten the process of drawing proletarian elements into the leadership.

Twelve of the delegates to the forthcoming national convention are Negro workers, one is a Japanese and one a Filipino. There will be fraternal delegates from the Communist Party of Mexico, the Communist Party of Canada and from several other Latin American countries.

The voting for convention delegates, after the most thorough discussion in the history of the American Comparty, completely wiped out the Party opposition as a political force in all industrial centres. The opposition received no votes among the miners, steel workers or textile workers. The vote on the Iron range (metal mining region) was one hundred seven against one in favour of the Central Committee. The vote on the Copper Range was one hundred and fifteen for the Central Committee, nothing for the opposition. In the Ohio Coal

<sup>1</sup> James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism*, New York, Pioneer, 1944.

<sup>2</sup> Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, New York, Dial, 1948. See, however, *Six Keys to the Soviet System*, Boston, Beacon, 1956.

fields where the Party has led the Pennsylvania-Ohio coal strike, the vote was one hundred fifteen for the Central Committee, nothing for the Opposition. The Anthracite Coal region of Pennsylvania and the soft coal fields of Illinois (the latter a former opposition stronghold) voted unanimously for the Central Committee. All textile, shoe, packinghouse and rubber centres voted almost unanimously for the C. E. C. The opposition received some support only in California (where only forty percent of the membership are industrial workers), and in New York where the opposition carried five units and the Central Committee seventy two and in Chicago where the vote was about the same.

The reason for this overwhelming defeat of the opposition is to be found in the following developments:

1. The opposition campaigned for support on the basis of reservations to the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. This was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership of the American Party.

2. The opposition repeatedly rejected the proposals of the Central Committee for the unification of the Party on the basis of the acceptance of the Comintern Decisions, all other matters to be adjusted by mutual agreement. This the opposition rejected. However, the membership insisted upon the unification of the Party.

3. In the midst of the discussion part of the opposition bloc went over to Trotskyism (Cannon and his followers) and were expelled from the Party by unanimous vote of the Central Committee (including the minority members). After Cannon's attempt to split the Party, the opposition continued to fight the Central Committee much harder than the renegades who were trying to split the Party. This was resented by the membership and scores even of opposition leading figures broke with the Opposition on this account and announced their support of the Central Committee.

4. The most capable leader of the Party Opposition, Comrade Foster was defeated for leadership of the Opposition by Comrade Bittelman, and his leadership caused the Opposition to lose support and to adopt the reckless line which called forth the rebuke of the membership.

The drift of former opposition supporters to the Central Committee continues after the voting. Fourteen leading opposition supporters in New York have just issued a declaration renouncing their opposition and calling upon former followers to do likewise. Ella Reeve Bloor, one of the oldest opposition leaders, issued a similar statement.

The convention was postponed for one month till March to give time for the E. C. C. I. to send a letter to the Convention. The Central Committee is using the period of comparative calm after the election of delegates is completed to intensify the convention discussion still further, to develop self-criticism, discussion of party tasks and issues, strengthening of the apparatus of the Party, especially the illegal apparatus and to intensify the Party's anti-war activities.

The agenda of the Congress is as follows:

1. Report of the Central Executive Committee (Economic and Political Situation, Activities of the Workers (Communist) Party and Tasks before the Party).

2. Report of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League.

3. Report of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.

4. Report on the Right Danger and Trotskyism.

5. Report on Trade Union Work.
6. Party Organisation Problems.
7. Negro Work.
8. The War Danger and the Struggle against American Imperialism.
9. Election of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Commission.

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Within two weeks after the publication of Wolfe's report to Moscow, the ECCI undertook to warn the right deviationists in the United States of some of their own ideological errors. This "open letter" was a very mild forerunner of the storm which soon broke over the heads of the Lovestoncites.

### EXHIBIT No. 9

[*Inprecorr*, March 1, 1929. Pp. 208-212]

#### OPEN LETTER OF THE E. C. C. I. TO THE CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

Dear Comrades,

The VI. Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America marks an important stage in the great change through which the Party is now going.

From a propagandist organisation, uniting chiefly immigrant workers and having an insignificant influence among the native workers, the Workers (Communist) Party is now beginning to turn into a mass Party of political action guiding the political and economic actions of the most advanced and the most militant ranks of the American proletariat. The VI. Congress of the Comintern emphasised in its resolutions this important new feature in the development of the Party, declaring that "a number of stubborn and fierce class battles (particularly the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader."

Precisely in the period following the convention of 1927 the Party has been acting with increasing frequency as the stalwart leader of mass actions of the American proletariat and has increased its influence among the native workers. The furriers' and garment workers' strikes, the miners' strike, the textile workers' strike in New Bedford and Fall River and the silk strike in Patterson—such is the series of battles in which the Workers Party of America has for the first time appeared in the role of a Party of political action capable of linking up the economic struggles of the proletariat with its political aims.

The struggle for the organisation of new unions which the Party had to carry on under circumstances of fierce terrorism on the part of the State apparatus, the murderous bands of powerful trusts, the yellow American Federation of Labour and the most stubborn resistance of the Socialist Party, is one of the best pages in the history of the work of the Party during the last year.

However, the Party is now just making its first steps on the new path. It is now just on the threshold between the old and the new, it has not yet passed the turning point. It has as yet done little to shift its base from the immigrants to the native Americans employed in the basic industries. It has done still less in relation to the millions of the Negro proletariat.

Meanwhile, the conditions which will impose enormous tasks on the Workers Party of America, and will compel it to take the lead in gigantic class conflicts, are developing ever more rapidly.

The aggressiveness of the United States in the struggle for markets and the most important sources of raw material throughout the world is growing swiftly. The election of Hoover as president means that American imperialism is resolutely embarking on a course which leads to colonial wars of occupation and to an extremely rapid accentuation of the struggle between the United States and its chief imperialist rival—Great Britain. American imperialism is striving for a monopolist position in world economy and politics and is becoming more and more involved in the universal crisis of capitalism and comes more and more into the orbit of the growing instability of world capitalism.

The striving towards domination in world politics drives American imperialism, on the one hand, towards brutal capitalist rationalisation which throws considerable sections of the proletariat out of production, leads to an extreme overstrain of labour without corresponding compensation, to a colossal growth of unemployment (3–4 million) and to a general worsening of the conditions of the working class. On the other hand it leads towards tremendous growth of armament which puts ever-heavier burdens onto the shoulders of the toiling masses. All this and the menace of the terrific calamities of war creates a state of uncertainty and insecurity in the entire working class. It is on this basis that the tendency towards radicalisation of the American working class is increasing; that its activities, its will to defend itself, which in some places transforms itself into a will to assume the offensive, is developing. This drift towards the Left does not develop evenly in all parts of the working class. It now embraces the unorganised workers, especially in those industries which have not reached their previous level after the depression of the first half of 1928.

The Workers (Communist) Party is obviously still unprepared for the great class conflicts which will inevitably arise on the basis of the sharpening class relations in the United States.

Its past still weighs upon its present. The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops in the shortest possible time from a numerically small propagandist organisation into a mass political party of the American working class.

This, however, is the task which the whole objective situation in the United States, the entire post-war development of American imperialism places before the Party. This is the chief, fundamental and decisive task to which all other tasks must be entirely subordinated.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America has been for many years an organisation of foreign workers not much connected with the political life of the country. Owing to this immigrant exclusiveness two leading groups arose, took shape and became consolidated within the Party. For six years an almost uninterrupted struggle for supremacy in the Party has been going on between them. The struggle was, in the main, not based on principle, and at times, it assumed an unprincipled character. At times it assumed the appearance of a struggle based on principle, but in reality it was not entirely a struggle of principle; principles served chiefly to camouflage the struggle for

supremacy in the Party. Whenever the struggle between the groups was centred more on principles (the attitude towards the Labour Party, the question of trade union tactics), the differences could have been settled without a factional struggle.

The absence of substantial differences on points of principle between the combatant factions has been recorded many times by the E. C. C. I. as well as by the Party itself.

Thus, in 1925, all resolutions at the IV. Convention of the Party were adopted by both factions unanimously, notwithstanding the acute factional struggle prior to the convention. But when the convention was over the factional struggle became even sharper than before.

Further the resolution of the presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the American question adopted on July 1st, 1927, states:

The objective difficulties, the weaknesses of the Workers (Communist) Party, and its inadequate contact with the masses of the native workers, are factors complicating the inner situation of the Workers (Communist) Party. An insufficiently strong Party life, as the result of an insufficient mass basis, the inadequate contact of many members of the former language groups with the specific problems of the class struggle in the United States favour the development of groups and factional struggles, the existence and intensity of which we seek in vain to explain through serious differences of principle.

No less indicative is also the fact that both groups adopted unanimously in February 1928 extensive theses concerning all vital political problems of the United States, as well as the fact that both groups prior to the VI. Congress committed in common Right Wing errors.

Finally, the VI. Congress of the C. I. declared that the factional struggle of the Workers (Communist) Party of America "is not based on any serious differences of principle".

Nor can the E. C. C. I. find such serious fundamental differences between the convention theses of the majority and the minority of the C. E. C. as to justify a struggle within the Party. The differences between the majority and minority of the C. E. C. do not go beyond those limits which would make it impossible to settle them without a factional struggle.

The majority has shown a tendency to under-estimate the process of radicalisation as well as the process of differentiation in the ranks of the working class, which finds its expression in the attempts to point out the conservatism of the American working class in a static form without giving a class analysis of the causes which underly its backwardness and without a sufficient consideration of the further prospects of development of its political consciousness.

The minority, on the other hand, over-estimates the degree of radicalisation of the American working class at the present time, interpreting the vote for Smith of a part of the workers during the presidential elections as a sign of the radicalisation of the proletariat. This is wrong, just as is the reference to Lenin's letter of 1921 which refers to the Roosevelt vote, because Roosevelt was a candidate of a third party, something which did not exist in the last elections. Both the majority and the minority entirely underestimate the Leftward trend of the working class in the other capitalist countries. In the theses of both groups there is no attempt to evaluate such important facts as the Lodz strike and the Ruhr lockout; they are not even mentioned.

In estimating the character of American Trotskyism, the majority does not draw in its theses a clear line of division between the out



and out Right Wing opportunist deviation and Trotskyism, which is opportunism disguised with Left phrases. The failure to understand this difference objectively leads to a weakening of the struggle against the main danger—the Right danger, as in reality it limits the struggle to the task of the struggle against Trotskyism.

The majority however not only under-estimates the Trotskyist danger, but, on the one hand says nothing in the theses about the fact that such extreme Right wingers as Sulkanen and Askeli, who do not even hide themselves behind Left phraseology, belong to the Cannon group, or that the latter has concluded a bloc with Lore and Eastman; and, on the other hand it states that Cannon has taken with him a number of workers from the Party, which objectively adds prestige to the Cannon group and weakens the struggle against American Trotskyism.

All the enumerated differences between the minority and majority could, if the factional struggle would cease, easily be overcome by means of self-criticism within the Party.

At the same time the majority and minority commit the same mistake in their view of the relations between the American and world economic systems, although expressed in different forms and both groups make different conclusions. This mistake lies in their wrong conception of the nature of the relationship between American and world economics and the underestimation of the increasing involving of American imperialism in the rapidly sharpening general crisis of capitalism. Both sides are inclined to regard American imperialism as isolated from world capitalism, as independent from it and developing according to its own laws. Both sides do not take sufficiently into account that the approaching crisis of American imperialism is part and parcel of the general crisis of capitalism. Both sides believe that world economy plays in relation to American imperialism only or chiefly a subordinate and passive role of a market for the export of commodities and capital.

The failure to understand the close relations between American economy and the general crisis of capitalism leads the majority to a wrong estimation of the role of American capital in the stabilisation of Europe, and to a misconception of the inevitable sharpening of the conflicts between the ever-more aggressive American imperialism and trustified Europe, which strives to free itself from the economic domination of the United States. It leads the minority to the conception that the coming crisis of American capitalism is called forth exclusively by its internal contradictions.

These mistakes reflect the failure to understand the fact that the roots of the contemporary general crisis of capitalism, side by side with the sharpening contradictions between the development of the productive forces and the contraction of markets, side by side with the existence and development of the U. S. S. R. as a factor which revolutionises the working class of all countries and the toiling masses of the colonies, and stands opposed to the world capitalist system, there is also the unequal growth in the economic development of the various countries which has its expression in the transference of the economic centre of capitalism from Europe to America and the rapid development of American imperialism which surpasses the development of the other capitalist countries.

The rapid development of American capitalism does not exempt the United States, or any other capitalist country, from the crisis; on the contrary it accentuates the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the extreme sharpening of all contradictions which it leads to. On the other hand a sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is to be expected not because American imperialism ceases to develop, but on the contrary, it is to be expected because American imperialism is developing and surpasses the other capitalist countries in its development, which leads to an extreme accentuation of all antagonisms.

The failure to understand the nature of the general crisis of American capitalism inevitably leads to a distortion of the entire revolutionary perspective outlined in the decisions of the VI. Congress in connection with the third period. To consider American capitalism isolated from the sharply accentuated general crisis of capitalism means to overlook the general revolutionary crisis of capitalism which includes the economic crises in all capitalist countries, the imperialist struggle against the U. S. S. R. and the rebelling colonies, the struggle among the imperialist countries themselves, as well as the class struggle of the proletariat in the various capitalist countries.

With regard to the fundamental question as to the nature of the contemporary general crisis of capitalism, the perspective of its accentuation, the further shattering of stabilisation throughout the entire world economic system, the question of struggle against the Right danger, which has of late become the chief and decisive issue in the Comintern, both the majority and the minority commit big errors which inevitably lead to a profound under-rating of the revolutionary perspectives in Europe and especially in America.

The majority entirely ignores in its theses the resolution of the VI. Congress (the point referring to the third period of post-war development), and the minority, while quoting that point, was unable to link it up with its own conclusions concerning the American crisis. The VI. Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America must decidedly rectify this mistake and pass resolutions on this most vital issue such as would be in full accord with the decisions of the VI. Congress of the C. I. This mistake of the majority is closely related to its great over-estimation of the economic might and the powerful technical development of the United States. It is wrong of speak of a second industrial revolution as is done in the majority theses.

A powerful technical revolution is taking place in the United States, a tremendous rationalisation, an increase in the forces of production, which in its effects can be compared to a second industrial revolution.

This is a serious error. On the one hand, the emphasis on the fact that the remnants of feudalism are being wiped out in the South of the United States (which is wrongly considered in the theses as its colony) and that a new bourgeoisie with a new proletariat are being formed, may give the term "second industrial revolution" the implication of a second bourgeois revolution. On the other hand, if we were not to interpret the term "second industrial revolution" in this sense, it could not be explained in any other way but as an uncritical over-estimation of the significance and results of the development of technique. Such over-estimation would play into the hands of all advertisers of the successes of bourgeois science and technique who

seek to deafen the proletariat by raising a lot of noise about technical progress and showing that there is no general crisis of capitalism, that capitalism is still vigorous in the United States, and that thanks to its extremely rapid development, it is capable of pulling Europe out of its crisis.

However, the development of the productive forces on the basis of the technical transformation and the new forms of organisation of labour, leads to increasing antagonisms between them and the limited home markets and, consequently, to a further deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and not a diminution or a liquidation of that crisis, as the apologists of American imperialism pretend.

The slightest concession to the noisy advertisers of the growth of technique, the slightest vacillation, is an intolerable opportunist mistake.

A no less important shortcoming both in the majority and minority is the under-estimation of the effect of the technical development and rationalisation, on the working class. Not only the majority theses which over-estimate the significance of the tremendous technical development, but also the minority theses leave this aspect of rationalisation in the shade and pay little attention to it.

The fact is that the great intensification of labour arising from technical development and capitalist rationalisation expressed in the speeding up of the conveyor and the movement of machinery, in an extreme crowding of the working day, in a terrific speeding up of the workers by means of the bonus system which leads to the wearing out of the workers and their being thrown out of the factory sooner than was the case hitherto and, finally, the absolute diminution of the number of workers in some industries, which gives rise to a tremendous growth of unemployment, are truly becoming the central problems of the entire American working class and thus acquiring the greatest political significance.

This new form of exploitation of the workers is based upon the increase of wages of a very small upper strata and upon the lowering of the standard of living, which was low enough hitherto, for the vast majority of the working class (notwithstanding the statement of the majority theses to the contrary).

The American proletariat does not feel so much the worsening of its position in any other respect as in the growing overstrain of labour, in the reduction of the period of the worker's stay in the factory, and in the growing unemployment.

Huge masses of American workers can be rallied to a struggle against overstrain of labour and the monstrous growth of exploitation. The chief demands capable of uniting them in a common struggle are—1) the 7-hour day and 6 hours for workers engaged in industries injurious to health and in underground work; 2) social insurance (in case of sickness, injury, invalidity, and unemployment) at the cost of the employers and the State.

Extensive and persevering agitation for these demands throughout the entire period should be the main task of the Party which must simultaneously proceed also with the organisation of the unemployed. By fighting for this programme, the Party can unite broad sections of the proletariat, educate them politically, strike deep roots in the midst of the American workers, and become a mass working class

Party. The revolutionary unions, provided their organisations will be seriously prepared and their leaders carefully chosen, can be an extremely important lever in that work.

The struggle against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation should be closely linked up with the struggle against the war danger. In this connection, the Party absolutely fails to see the enormous importance of this task and its decisive political significance. This entails an under-estimation of the revolutionary perspectives. There is no doubt that the objective situation as well as the first successes of the Party in leading mass conflicts provide a basis for a healthy discussion on points of principle within the Party. But the existence of two crystallised leading groups is a decisive obstacle to embarking on this course.

So long as these two groups exist in the Party, the possibility of an exchange of opinion on questions of principle within the Party, and hence the further healthy ideological development of the Party is entirely excluded.

To advance artificial differences of principle on questions concerning which no such differences exist would at the present time serve only and exclusively as a means of furthering the non-principled factional struggle.

The deep-rooted unprincipled methods of factional struggle are becoming a great obstacle in the struggle against all deviations from the correct political line and hindering the development of self-criticism or leading to its factional distortion.

However, the decision of the VI. Congress of the Comintern on the struggle against deviation from the correct political position is of special importance to the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The ever-growing economic power and ever-increasing importance of American imperialism on the world arena, the specific method of economic and political oppression of the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie, who use the powerful apparatus of the A. F. of L. as an agency in the working class—all these conditions give rise to the most serious danger of the development of a strong Right wing tendency in the American Party. The fact that both factions were guilty of Right wing errors is most significant and amply confirms the existence of the danger of the development of a Right wing tendency in the American Party. The VI. Congress has already pointed out in its resolutions a series of Right wing errors (the attitude towards the Socialist Party, inadequate work by the Party in organising the unorganised and the struggle of the Negroes, the insufficiently clear struggles against the murderous policy of the United States in Latin America), and recorded that "these mistakes cannot, however, be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership". The mistakes committed since the VI. Congress of the C. I. were also of a Right character.

The appearance of Trotskyism in the United States can be explained by the fact that the Trotskyist opportunist doctrines on the question of the Party and its structure, at the basis of which lies the "principle" of unprincipled alliance with all and sundry Right and "Left" groups and organisations fighting against the Comintern, seems to fit perfectly into the scheme of political struggle in the United States where lack of principle was always the underlying principle in the activities of all bourgeois parties. Nowhere, in no other country in the world, have we witnessed so easy and rapid formation of a bloc of the Trotsky-

ist and the out and out Right wingers as in the United States, thus revealing at the very outset its Social Democratic and anti-Comintern nature. The Right mistakes of the Party helped the growth of Trotskyism in the United States.

Notwithstanding the presence of certain temporary premises for Trotskyism in the United States, the Trotskyist bloc there also is doomed to collapse. The main condition for this is a correct political line of the Communist Party based on clear principles aiming at the elimination and correction of Right mistakes and a decisive fight against the Right danger in the ranks of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

A successful struggle against both the out and out Right as well as against the "Left" Trotskyist deviations, has been hindered until now mainly by the intolerant and unprincipled faction struggle between the two leading groups. Each faction speculates on the mistakes of the other concealing or under-estimating meanwhile its own mistakes. Each faction hurls against the other accusations of alleged Right and "Left" mistakes. Actual and imaginary errors are exaggerated for factional purposes and deviations are manufactured out of them.

For factional considerations, the minority of the C. E. C. attacks the majority on some points more sharply than the Trotskyists who have been expelled from the Party. In its turn the majority, also for factional reasons, resorts to absolutely intolerable manoeuvres (the invitation of the renegade Cannon to a meeting of the C. E. C., for example). Speculation on deviations (instead of combating them), and factional manufacturing of deviations, does not give the Party a chance to discover the real mistakes and to establish the actual dimensions and the actual sources of the Right (and also the "Left") danger.

The struggle against the Right and "Left" dangers has to contend with factionalism in the Workers (Communist) Party of America and cannot be developed in a truly Bolshevik manner until this main hindrance is eliminated.

The C. I. several times requested the Party in the most decisive manner to put an end to the factional struggle. The VI. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. demanded from the Party a "complete and unconditional cessation of the factional struggle." The American Commission during the VIII. Plenum confirmed that decision. The Polit. Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. declared in April 1928 that: "it is the opinion of the E. C. C. I. that the main problem of the Party in the field of organisation is to kill all remnants of factionalism." Finally the VI. Congress decided that: "the most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the Factional strife, which is not based on any serious differences, and at the same time, to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading Party posts."

The existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this no mass Communist Party of the American proletariat can be organised.

This is the most urgent task of the Party. The VI. Convention of the Workers Party must categorically prohibit any further factional struggle, under threat of expulsion from the Party, and lay the foundation of a normal Party life, especially internal democracy, self-

criticism and iron Party discipline, based on the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority and an unconditional recognition of the decisions of the Comintern.

All Party members must unite their efforts for the speediest carrying out of this most urgent task.

The Young Workers League must not be led by any of the factional groups in the Party, its members must fight on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern and the Communist Youth International for the liquidation of factionalism and factional groupings both in the League and in the Party.

The fact that the Party has increased last year the number of its members employed in big factories by 14%, the fact that it has already come out as a staunch leader in stubborn class wars, the fact that its influence among the native workers has increased and improved, all this shows that the Party has already matured for transformation into a mass organisation. But the fact that the Party could not get more than 50,000 votes in the elections shows that its ties with the American proletariat is still weak.

The Party can become a mass proletarian Party only on condition that it widens its base by creating its main strongholds in the ranks of the American workers, especially in the most important branches of industry, and also among the Negro workers, while at the same time retaining its positions among the revolutionary immigrant workers.

This course on the American workers and the decisive branches of industry must run through all activities of the Party and must be laid down as the foundation of the organisation of the unorganised, the creation of new unions, the organisation of the Left Wing in the old unions, "laying thereby the basis for the actual realisation of the slogan of creation of a wide Workers' Party from below." (Resolution of the VI. Congress of the C. I.)

Four principal conditions are now essential in order that the Party may definitely enter the path leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Party, four conditions, the decisive significance of which neither the majority, which is responsible for the leadership, nor the minority have understood. These conditions are:

1. A correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism which is a part of it.

2. To place in the centre of the work of the Party the daily needs of the American working class and especially a) the demand for a 7-hour day and 6 hours for underground workers and those engaged in injurious trades, while exposing and waging a systematic struggle against the capitalist methods of rationalisation directed towards intensifying the exploitation of the workers; b) the demand for all forms of social insurance at the cost of the employers and the State.

3. Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to work among the Negroes.

4. Liquidation of factionalism and drawing workers into the leadership.

The E. C. C. I. calls upon the VI. Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to carry out these decisive tasks.

With Communist Greetings.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

No less an authority than Stalin saw to it that the year 1929 marked the end of serious factionalism within the American Communist movement. Having first assured himself of monolithic control over the U. S. S. R. during or shortly after the Sixth World Congress, the Georgian *vozhd* next directed his attention to important foreign branches of his world conspiracy. In purging the CPUSA of dissidents, Stalin proceeded according to the well tested Bolshevik principle of democratic centralism.<sup>1</sup>

The "American exceptionalism" to which Stalin so violently objected was the interpretation put upon Leninism by the followers of Jay Lovestone. In the spring of 1929, 90 percent of the American comrades believed that economic conditions in the United States did not warrant immediate agitation for the complete Marxist program.<sup>2</sup> Stalin, however, thought otherwise. Whereupon all but a few American Communists abandoned their Lovestoneite exceptionalism in favor of Stalin's democratically central revisions.<sup>3</sup>

Slightly different editions of Stalin's three speeches were included in Jay Lovestone's testimony before this committee, along with a speech by Molotov in which he assured the American comrades that he was adding very little to what Stalin had already pointed out.<sup>4</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 10

[Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., n. d. (After December 5, 1930)]

### STALIN'S SPEECHES ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

*Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, May 6, 1929, and in The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the American Question, May 14th, 1929*

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#### Preface.

- I. Speech delivered in the American Commission of The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. (May 6, 1929).
- II. Speech delivered in the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the American question, (May 14, 1929).
- III. Second speech delivered at the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the American question (May 14, 1929).

### PREFACE

The speeches of Comrade Stalin in the American Commission and at the meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published herewith, have not only historical but also present political importance. At once they show the line of the Sixth Congress in action and the application to the Communist Party of the United States, of the Sixth Congress decisions on the fight against the Right danger.

The Sixth Congress of the C. I. pointed out the growth of the Right wing tendencies in the world Communist movement, the growth caused by new features in the world situation—further decay of capitalist stabilization, sharpening of inner and outer contradictions of capitalism, sharpening of the class struggle and the radicalization of the working class. In the United States these new features of the world situation signified the deeper entanglement of American capitalism in the general crisis of world capitalism, the more rapid growth of class contradictions, and the sharpening of the struggle of the American workers against the united front of capitalists, their

<sup>1</sup> Morle Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 180-184.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941, p. 60. The complete history of the Lovestoneite faction is recounted in great detail in Gitlow's *I Confess*.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 270-276.

<sup>4</sup> Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 11, December 2, 1939, pp. 7112-7133.

state apparatus and their reformist lackeys. In this situation Right wing opportunists in the American Party developed only reformist conceptions on all important questions of the Communist movement. The most "famous" of these opportunistic conceptions were Pepper and Lovestone's theory of American exceptionalism, their opportunistic presentation of the question of the inner contradictions of American capitalism, their underestimation of the degree of the radicalization of the workers, and finally, their covering of the Right danger under the theory that the only Right danger was Trotzkyism and that it was not necessary to fight against opportunistic tendencies and theories openly formulated by Right wingers who at that time determined the political line of the American Party.

The speeches of Comrade Stalin show very clearly how the fight against Right wingers in America was part and parcel of the beneficent process of cleansing the sections of the Communist International of opportunist and wavering elements. Comrade Stalin showed how this cleansing was a tactical conclusion dictated by the whole analysis of the world situation.

There are many who think that nothing has changed in the international situation of late, that everything has remained as of old. This is not true, comrades. The fact of the matter is that we have an accentuation of the class struggle in all capitalist countries, a growing revolutionary crisis in Europe, growing conditions of a new revolutionary upward swing. . . . Soon the ground will be too hot for world capitalism.

The duty of the Communist Party is at once to begin preparatory work for the coming class struggles, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for new revolutionary struggles. . . . But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliationist elements, who objectively represent the agency of social-democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter not at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for, I repeat, time does not wait and we must not allow events to catch us unawares.

The political roots of opportunist errors and theories, which flourished in the American Party, are clearly analyzed and exposed in Comrade Stalin's speeches. At the beginning of his first speech he says that both groups in the American Party, that the majority and minority, "are guilty of the fundamental error of exaggerating the specific features of American capitalism." This general ground of all opportunist mistakes in the American Party as shown by Comrade Stalin a year ago, has been proved by the subsequent political evolution of the counter-revolutionary Lovestone group, as well as by the newest manifestations of opportunistic tendencies inside the American Party.

It would be sufficient to cite Lovestone's conception of the economic crisis in the United States as a mere stock exchange crash and his continued panegyrics, worthy of a backward shopkeeper, before the power and strength of American capitalism, even while it is in an orgy of economic crisis which shakes its very foundation, in order to show the necessity for Stalin's analysis. It would be sufficient to point out the underestimation, which still exists in the Party, of the depth, duration and political significance of the present economic crisis as well as the underestimation of the radicalization of the workers, which results in our lagging behind the masses in economic struggles, in the organization of the unemployed, and in the preparation for May Day, in order to understand the present importance of



Stalin's analysis of the Right tendencies in the American Party, of the very clearly formulated distinction between specific particularities of American capitalism which the Communist Party must take into account in its work and the general features of capitalism, which are common to all countries, which are the basis of all our activity and the very foundation of internationalism. This distinction, which is the dividing line between Communists and opportunists must be learned by every member of the Party and really applied in all our everyday work.

The particular features of opportunism in the American Party were the seal of unprincipledness and sharply developed factionalism. Naturally the fight of the Communist International against opportunism in the American Party must have been directed against this particular expression of American opportunism. The political blows of Comrade Stalin's speeches were directed against unprincipled factionalism of both factions in the American Party—the former majority and minority groups. One of the most revolting features of this unprincipled factionalism was the speculation on the divergencies in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in this respect Comrade Stalin mercilessly unmasked pretensions of the former minority to be "Stalinites" in the United States as well as Lovestone's stock exchange speculation at the Sixth Party Convention on the Bukharin question.

Blinded by factionalism, both factions not only did not see or did not show to the Party the opportunist mistakes of their "own" groups, but failed to find an escape from the years long factional strife which disarmed the American Party in the face of the class enemies and compromised the Party in the eyes of the American workers. Comrade Stalin shows how the minority saw only one solution—to give the leadership of the Party to the minority faction. And the majority faction, headed by Lovestone, demanded only the whitewashing of majority leaders of all opportunistic mistakes and the strangling of the minority. The solution given by the Comintern, as laid down in Comrade Stalin's speeches, was: a merciless fight against the opportunistic mistakes of both groups, decisive organizational measures to stop once for all the factional fight in the American Party, and the unification of the Party, not on the platform of the majority or of the minority, but on the basis of the C. I. line.

Perhaps the most striking part of Comrade Stalin's speeches is his analysis of factionalism in a Communist Party. With clear and simple words, with formulations sharp as a razor, Comrade Stalin opens this "running sore" of factionalism in a Communist Party and, in a way understandable to every worker, shows the necessity of putting an end to the crime of factionalism.

Many political prognoses made by Comrade Stalin in May a year ago, now appear as fulfilled predictions. His analysis of the crisis of world capitalism which develops with quick tempo and which must involve American capitalism, and his statement that the 3,000,000 of unemployed were but the first swallows of the crisis maturing in America; all these prognoses were not mere guesses, but inevitable conclusions drawn from a Marxian analysis of the whole world situation.

With the same historical accuracy, Comrade Stalin's prognosis of the future fate of the Lovestone group has been fulfilled. Answering Lovestone's pretensions that he was defending his opportunistic con-

ceptions and factional activities "in the name of 99 per cent of the American Communist Party," Comrade Stalin pointed out that Lovestone "is indisputably an adroit and talented factional wire-puller" and had a majority in the American Communist Party, mainly because the membership regarded the leaders of the majority "as the determined supporters of the Communist International."

To the gloomy predictions of Lovestone and Gitlow, that the Comintern Address will destroy the American Party, Comrade Stalin answered:

"No comrades, the American Communist Party, will not perish. It will live and flourish to the dismay of the enemies of the working class. Only one small factional group will perish if it continues to be stubborn, if it does not submit to the will of the Comintern, if it continues to adhere to its errors."

These words could be written upon the political grave, or better said, on the Brandlerite political sewer in which now rests Lovestone, Gitlow & Co.

Still timely are the tasks of the American Communist movement laid down by Comrade Stalin in his speeches: bolshevization of the American Party, forging of real revolutionary cadres and of real revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, strengthening of the fight against reformism and social-democracy, and preparing the working class and the exploited masses for the new revolutionary fights.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the importance of the Comintern Address consisted precisely in that it helps the American Party "to put an end to unprincipled factionalism, create unity in the Party, and finally enter on the broad road of mass political work." The American Communist Party after a year of work and struggle can now say that this general task has been entirely accomplished. The Party has mercilessly eliminated factionalism and is now united on the line of the Comintern in the fight against all and every opportunist tendency and is already on the road to mass political activity. The organizational successes of the Party, and the tremendous growth of the Party's political influence among the American workers are results of the Marxist-Leninist help of the Communist International.

The renegades of Communism, from Lovestone's or Cannon's camp, may sneer at Stalin's words about the errors and mistakes of the Party which were brought forward in Stalin's speeches. The Trotskyites' "Militant" has already come out with a lengthy and "deep" article declaring that the publication of Comrade Stalin's speeches "obviously has some very special—one may say, occult meaning," is "some machination behind the scenes" and a new informal intrigue against some American comrades, and in particular "a first step toward overthrowing Foster." These political gossipers are unable to see in any stage of Party bolshevization anything but personal intrigue. Because Comrade Foster, one of the present most authoritative leaders of the united American Party, was mentioned in Stalin's speech as at that time the leader of the former minority group in connection with errors and factionalism of the former minority, the counter-revolutionary slanderers of the "Militant" hasten to build upon this the bedroom story of new "intrigues" in the Communist Party. To them could be very well applied the angry words of Karl Marx, who, in his "A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right," branded the representatives of the German historical-

judicial school: "To them history only shows itself 'a posteriori' like the God of Israel to Moses." Similar interpretation of history is however, a particular feature of the Trotskyites. Their Pope, their heir of Marx and Lenin on Earth—Trotsky, in his recent book fully developed this conception of the whole history of the Russian revolutionary movement; the history of two Russian revolutions, as a dim reflection of his own brilliant personal genius and the whole history of the development of the Russian Party after the defeat of Trotskyism as the result of an infernal intrigue, "conspiracy of epigones."

Strong with bolshevik self-criticism, boldly exposing, criticizing, and correcting the past and present errors, the American Party will follow the path of bolshevization enlightened by Stalin's speeches, and will be worthy of Stalin's definition of our Party as "one of the few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement."

#### I. SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE AMERICAN COMMISSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

(May 6, 1929)

Comrades, since quite a few speeches have been delivered here and the political position of both groups in the Communist Party of the United States of America has been sufficiently clarified, I do not intend to speak at great length. I shall not deal with the political position of the leaders of the majority and the minority. I shall not do so since it has become evident during the course of the discussion that both groups are guilty of the fundamental error of exaggerating the specific features of American capitalism. You know that this exaggeration lies at the root of every opportunist error committed both by the majority and the minority group. It would be wrong to ignore the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party in its work must take them into account. But it would be still more wrong to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the foundation of the activities of every Communist Party, including the American Communist Party, on which it must base itself, must be the general features of capitalism, which are the same for all countries, and not its specific features in any given country. It is on this that the internationalism of the Communist Party is founded. Specific features are only supplementary to the general features. The error of both groups is that they exaggerate the significance of the specific features of American capitalism and thereby overlook the basic features of American capitalism which are characteristic of world capitalism as a whole. Therefore, when the leaders of the majority and the minority accuse each other of elements of a Right deviation, it is obviously not without some measure of truth. It cannot be denied that American conditions form a medium in which it is easy for the American Communist Party to be led astray and to exaggerate the strength and stability of American capitalism. These conditions lead our comrades from America, both the majority and the minority, into errors of the type of the Right deviation. Owing to these conditions, at times one section, at others, the other section, fails to realize the full extent of reformism in America, underestimates the leftward swing of the working class and,

in general, is inclined to regard American capitalism as something apart from and above world capitalism. That is the basis for the unsteadiness of both sections of the American Communist Party in matters of principle.

Having made these general observations, let us now pass to practical political questions.

What are the main defects in the practice of the leaders of the majority and the minority?

Firstly, that in their day-to-day work they, and particularly the leaders of the majority, are guided by motives of unprincipled factionalism and place the interests of their faction higher than the interests of the Party.

Secondly, that both groups, and particularly the majority, are so infected with the disease of factionalism that they base their relations with the Comintern, not on the principle of confidence, but on a policy of rotten diplomacy, a policy of diplomatic intrigue.

Let us take a few examples. I will mention such a simple fact as the speculations made by the leaders both of the majority and the minority regarding the differences within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. You know that both groups of the American Communist Party, competing with each other and chasing after each other like horses in a race, are feverishly speculating on existing and nonexistent differences within the C. P. S. U. Why do they do that? Do the interests of the Communist Party of America demand it? No, of course not. They do it in order to gain some advantage for their own particular faction and to cause injury to the other faction. Foster and Bittleman see nothing reprehensible in declaring themselves "Stalinites" and thereby demonstrating their loyalty to the C. P. S. U. But, my dear comrades, that is disgraceful. Do you not know that there are no "Stalinites," that there must be no "Stalinites"? Why does the minority act in this unseemly fashion? In order to entrap the majority group, the group of Comrade Lovestone, and to prove that the Lovestone group is opposed to the C. P. S. U. and, hence, to the basic nucleus in the Comintern. That is, of course, incorrect. It is irresponsible. But the minority cares nothing about that; their chief aim is to ensnare and discredit the majority in the interests of the faction of the minority.

And how does the Lovestone group act in this connection? Does it behave more correctly than the minority group? Unfortunately, not. Unfortunately, its behavior is even more disgraceful than that of the minority group. Judge for yourselves. The Foster group demonstrate their closeness to the C. P. S. U. by declaring themselves "Stalinites." Lovestone perceives that his own faction thereby may lose something by this. Therefore, in order not to be outdone, the Lovestone group suddenly performs a "hair raising" feat and, at the American Party Congress,\* carries through a decision calling for the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the Comintern. And so you get a game of rivalry on the principle of who will outdo whom. Instead of a fight on principles you get the most unprincipled speculation on the differences within the C. P. S. U.

Such are the results of a policy which places the interests of faction higher than the interests of the Party.

\*Comrade Stalin speaks here of the Sixth Convention held in 1929.

Another example. I refer to the case of Comrade Pepper. You are all more or less acquainted with that case. Twice the Comintern demanded Comrade Pepper's return to Moscow. The Central Committee of the American Communist Party resisted and, in fact, ignored a number of decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International regarding Pepper. Thereby the majority of the American Communist Party demonstrated its fellowship with Pepper, whose opportunist vacillations everybody knows. Finally, a delegation from the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent to the 6th Congress of the American Communist Party, advances again, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the immediate recall of Comrade Pepper. The majority under the leadership of Lovestone and Gitlow again resists this demand and does not find it necessary to carry out the decision of the E. C. C. I. Foster's group utilizes this situation against the Lovestone group, stating that the majority group within the American Communist Party is against the Comintern. The Lovestone group finally senses that its interests might suffer should it find itself in a position of opposition to the Comintern. Accordingly, the Lovestone group performs another "hair-raising" feat and expels Comrade Pepper from the Party! the same Pepper whom only the day before they had defended against the C. I. Another game of rivalry—who can spit furthest. How can we explain the resistance to the decisions of the Comintern regarding Pepper on the part of the majority group. Not, of course, in the interests of the Party. It was exclusively in the interests of the majority faction. Why is it that the majority made a sudden right-about-face and unexpectedly expelled Pepper from the Party? Was it in the interests of the Party? Of course not. It was purely in the interests of the Lovestone faction, who were anxious not to surrender a trump card to their enemy, namely, the Foster-Bittleman factional group. Faction interests above all!

The Foster group want to demonstrate their devotion to the C.P.S.U. by declaring themselves "Stalinites." Very good. We, the Lovestoneites, will go still further than the Foster group and demand the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the Comintern. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! Let them know over there in Moscow that we Americans know how to play the stock market.

The Foster group want to demonstrate their solidarity with the Comintern by demanding the carrying out of the decision of the Comintern regarding Pepper's recall. Very good. We, the Lovestoneites, will go still further and will expel Comrade Pepper from the Party. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! Let them know over there in Moscow that we Americans know how to play the stock market.

There you have the fruits of the factionalism of the majority and the minority.

But, Comrades, the Comintern is not a stock market. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern, therefore, must not be confused with a stock market. *Either* we are Leninists, and our relations one with another, as well as the relations of the sections with the Comintern, and vice versa, must be built on mutual confidence, must be as clean and pure as crystal—in which case there should be no room in our ranks for rotten diplomatic intrigue; *or* we are not Leninists—in which case rotten diplomacy and unprincipled factional struggle will have full scope in our relations. One or the other. We must choose, comrades.

In order to show how pure Communist morals are depraved and defiled in the course of a factional struggle, I could cite yet another fact, as, for instance, my conversation with Comrades Foster and Lovestone. I refer to the conversation that took place at the time of the Sixth Congress. It is characteristic that in correspondence with his friends Comrade Foster makes this conversation out to be something secret, something which must not be talked about aloud. It is characteristic that Comrade Lovestone, in bringing his charges against Comrade Foster, in connection with this conversation, refers to his talk with me and boasts here that he, Comrade Lovestone, unlike Foster, is able to keep a secret and that under no conditions would he consent to divulge the substance of his conversation with me. Why this mysticism, dear comrades; what purpose does it serve? What could there be mysterious in my talk with Comrades Foster and Lovestone? Listening to these comrades, one might think I spoke to them of things which one would be ashamed to relate here. But that is stupid, comrades. What is the purpose of this mystical game? Is it difficult to understand that I have nothing to conceal from comrades? Is it difficult to understand that I am ready at any moment to tell comrades the substance of my conversation with Foster and Lovestone from beginning to end? What will then become of the famous mysticism so zealously spread here by Foster and Lovestone?

What did Comrade Foster talk to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipledness of Comrade Lovestone's group. What did I answer him? I admit these sins on the part of the Lovestone group, but at the same time added that the same sins were characteristic of the Foster group. On the basis of this Comrade Foster arrives at the singular conclusion that I sympathize with the minority group. Where is the foundation, one asks? On what grounds is Foster pleased to think that I fail to see the defects of the minority group and even sympathize with that group? Is it not obvious that with Comrade Foster *the wish is father to the thought?*

What did Comrade Lovestone talk about? Of the worthlessness of the Foster-Bittlemen group. What did I answer? I answered that both groups were suffering from serious defects and advised him to take measures to liquidate factionalism. That was all.

What is there mysterious here that cannot be spoken about aloud?

Is it not strange that out of these simple and clear facts the comrades of the majority and the minority make a secret worthy of arousing the laughter of serious-minded people? Is it not obvious that there would be no mystification if there were no factional atmosphere poisoning the life of the American Communist Party and defiling simple and pure Communist morals?

Or let us take, for instance, another fact. I refer to the talk with Comrade Lovestone that took place *the other day*. It is characteristic that Comrade Lovestone has also been spreading absurd rumors about this conversation of mine and making a secret of it. Why this incomprehensible passion for the "mysterious"? . . . What did he speak about to me the other day? He asked that the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. should rescind the decision to withdraw him from America. He said that he, Lovestone, would undertake to carry out the proposed decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., provided it would not be directed sharply against the leaders of the majority

of the Communist Party of America. He promised to be a loyal soldier of the Comintern and to prove it in practice, if the Comintern would give him the necessary instructions. He said he was not looking for high positions in the American Communist Party, but only begged that he should be tested and given the opportunity to prove his loyalty to the Comintern. What did I reply to this? I told him that experiments in testing the loyalty of Comrade Lovestone to the Comintern have already been going on for three years, but no good has come of them. I said it would be better both for the Communist Party of America and for the Comintern, if Comrades Lovestone and Bittleman were kept in Moscow for a time. I said that this method of action on the part of the Comintern was one of the surest means of curing the American Communist Party of factionalism and saving it from disintegration. I said that although this was my opinion, I agreed to submit the proposal of Comrade Lovestone to the consideration of the Russian comrades, and undertook to inform him of the opinion of the Russian comrades.

That seems perfectly clear. Yet Comrade Lovestone again tries to make a secret of these obvious facts and is spreading all kinds of rumors regarding this conversation.

It is obvious that there would be no such mystification and simple things would not be turned into mysterious legends, if it were not for a policy which places the interests of a faction higher than the interests of the Party, the interests of diplomatic intrigue higher than the interests of the Comintern.

In order to put an end to these foul methods and place the American Communist Party on the lines of Leninist policy, it is necessary first of all to put an end to factionalism in that Party.

That is the conclusion to which the above-mentioned facts bring us. What is the solution?

Comrade Foster mentioned one. According to his proposal, the leadership should be handed over to the minority. Can that solution be adopted? No, it can not. The delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International committed an error when it sharply dissociated itself from the majority, without at the same time dissociating itself *equally sharply* from the minority. It would be very unfortunate if the Commission of the Presidium repeated the error of the delegation of the E. C. C. I. I think the Commission of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. should in its draft dissociate itself both from the errors of the majority and from the errors of the minority. And for the very reason that it must dissociate itself from both, it must not propose to turn over the leadership to the minority. Hence the proposal of Comrade Foster with all its implications, automatically falls to the ground.

The American delegation proposed a different solution, directly contrary to the proposal of Comrade Foster. As you know, the proposal of the American delegation consists of ten points. The substance of this proposal is to the effect that the leadership of the majority should be fully rehabilitated, the factional work of the majority should be considered correct, that the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to withdraw Comrade Lovestone should be annulled, and that thus the practice of suffocating the minority should be endorsed. Can this solution be adopted? No, it can not, for it would mean, not eradicating factionalism, but elevating it to a principle.

**What then is the solution?**

**The solution consists in the following:**

1. The actions and the proposals of the delegation of the E. C. C. I. must, in the main, be approved, with the exclusion from the proposals of those points which approximate to the proposals of Comrade Foster.

2. An open letter must be sent in the name of the E. C. C. I. to the members of the American Communist Party setting forth the errors of both sections of the Party and sharply emphasizing the question of eradicating all factionalism.

3. The action of the leaders of the majority at the Convention of the Communist Party of America, particularly on the question of Pepper, must be condemned.

4. An end must be put to the present situation in the Communist Party of America, in which the questions of positive work, the questions of the struggle of the working class against the capitalists, questions of wages, working hours, work in the trade unions, the fight against reformism, the fight against the Right deviation—when all these questions are kept in the shade, and are replaced by petty questions of the factional struggle between the Lovestone group and the Foster group.

5. The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the American Communist Party must be reorganized with the inclusion of such workers therein as are capable of seeing something more than the factional struggle, the struggle of the working class against the capitalists, who are capable of placing the interests and the unity of the Party above the interests of individual groups and their leaders.

6. Comrades Lovestone and Bittleman must be summoned and placed at the disposal of the Comintern, in order that the members of the American Communist Party should at last understand that the Comintern intends to fight factionalism in all seriousness.

Such is the solution, in my opinion.

A word or two regarding the tasks and the mission of the American Communist Party. I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. You all know very well the strength and power of American capitalism. Many now think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. It is entirely untrue, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The three million now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonism between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis. I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and every means must be employed in preparing for that, comrades. For that end the American Com-



munist Party must be improved and bolshevized. For that end we must work for the complete liquidation of factionalism and deviations in the Party. For that end we must work for the reestablishment of unity in the Communist Party of America. For that end we must work in order to forge real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class toward the revolutionary class struggles. For that end all personal factors and factional considerations must be laid aside and the revolutionary education of the working class of America must be placed above all.

That is why I think, comrades, that the most serious attention must be paid to the proposals of the Commission of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. for your consideration here, for the aim of these proposals is to render the Communist Party of America a healthy Party, to eradicate factionalism, to create unity, to strengthen the Party and to bolshevize it.

## II. FIRST SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE PRESIDUM OF THE E. C. C. I. ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION

(May 14th, 1929)

Comrades, we are faced with a unique fact, worthy of the most serious attention. A month has already passed since the American delegation arrived in Moscow. For almost a whole month we are occupied with it, we are discussing the problems of the American Communist Party and are indicating methods of clearing up the situation that has arisen. Every member of the delegation has had the opportunity to exercise his right of expressing his views and criticizing the comrades who were not in agreement with him. You know that this right was exercised by them to the full, without the slightest hindrance on the part of the E. C. C. I. You know that Comrade Lovestone insisted that the Russian comrades should express their views. You know that the Russian comrades have already had their say on the essential aspects of the question. Accordingly, the Commission has fulfilled all the conditions requisite for finding a solution and bringing the matter to a conclusion.

And what do we find? Instead of a serious attitude to the matter in hand, and a readiness to put an end finally to factionalism, we have a fresh outburst of factionalism among the members of the American delegation and a fresh attempt to undermine the cause of unity of the American Communist Party. A few days ago we were still without the draft of the decision of the Comintern on the American question. All we had then was an outline of the general principles for a decision, an outline directed toward the eradication of factionalism. But instead of waiting until the draft decision appeared, the American delegation, without wasting words, broke out with the declaration of May 9th, a declaration of a super-factional character, an anti-Party declaration. You know with what hostility the members of the Commission of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. met this declaration. You know that the Commission criticized it to shreds. One might have expected that the American delegation would give thought to this and correct its errors. The direct contrary, in fact occurred. The draft of the proposals of the Commission, which has now been distributed to all the members of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and the Ameri-

can delegation, no sooner appeared than the American delegation broke out with the new declaration of May 14th, a declaration still more factional and anti-Party than that of May 9th. You are, of course, acquainted with this declaration. Comrade Gitlow read it here during the course of his speech. The fundamental feature of this declaration is that it proclaims the thesis of *non-submission* to the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. That means that the extreme factionalism of the leaders of the majority has driven them into the path of insubordination, and hence of warfare against the Comintern.

It cannot be denied that our American comrades, like all Communists, have the right to disagree with the draft of the decision of the Commission and have the right to oppose it. And as long as they confine themselves to the exercise of this right there is not, and cannot be anything wrong. But the trouble is that the declaration of May 14th does not stop there. It goes further; it considers that the fight must be continued even after the draft becomes the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. Therefore, we must put the question squarely to the members of the American delegation: When the draft assumes the force of an obligatory decision of the Comintern, do they consider themselves entitled not to submit to that decision? We have argued the question in the Commission for a whole month; we have had a number of discussions; we have spent a tremendous amount of time on the matter, time that might have been more profitably employed; we finally arrived at the point when the time for discussion was over and were on the eve of adopting a decision which must be compulsory for all members of the Comintern. And now the question arises: do the members of the American delegation, as Communists, as Leninists, consider themselves entitled not to submit to the decision of the E. C. C. I. on the American question?

That is the crux of the matter, comrades.

Permit me now to proceed to examine the declaration itself.

This declaration of May 14th was drawn up rather craftily. I do not doubt that this declaration was written by some sly attorney, by some petty-fogging lawyer. Judge for yourselves. On the one hand, the declaration avows complete loyalty to the Comintern, the unshakable fidelity of the authors of the declaration to the Communist International, not only in the past, not only in the present, but also in the future. That, of course, is excellent, provided it is not an empty promise. On the other hand, the declaration states that its authors cannot assume responsibility for carrying out the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. It plainly states:

"There are valid reasons for our being unable to accept this new draft letter, to assume responsibility before the Party membership for the execution of this letter, to endorse the inevitable irreparable damage that the line of this new draft letter is bound to bring to our Party."

If you please, on the one hand, complete loyalty; on the other, a refusal to carry out the decision of the Comintern. And this is called loyalty to the Comintern! Petti-fogging practice, indeed. Can you picture a Communist, not a paper Communist, but a real Communist, avowing loyalty to the Comintern and at the same time refusing to accept responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Comintern?

What sort of loyalty is that? What is the reason for this duplicity? This hypocrisy? Is it not obvious that this weighty talk of loyalty and fidelity to the Comintern is necessary to comrade Lovestone in order to deceive the "membership"?

One involuntarily recalls the unforgettable Mr. Chamberlain, who, on the one hand, is for peace and reduction of armaments and, on the other, does everything possible to insure that armaments should increase and preparations for war proceed at full speed. The chatter about peace is necessary to Chamberlain in order to cover up the preparations for a new war. Loud talks about loyalty and fidelity to the Comintern is necessary to comrade Lovestone in order to cover up preparations for the fight against the decisions of the Comintern. Comrade Lovestone, of course, is not Chamberlain. There is not, and cannot be any analogy between them. But the fact that his "manoeuvre" recalls the "manoeuvres" of Chamberlain should be a sufficient warning for him.

But the declaration does not stop there. It goes further. Passing from the defensive to the offensive, it proclaims the necessity of fighting the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, as decisions, which, it is declared, are against the line of the Sixth Congress of the C. I. It plainly states that the draft decision, the draft for the Open Letter of the Comintern, which here in the Presidium meets with general approval, and which in all likelihood will be approved by the Presidium of the Comintern—it plainly states that this draft is contrary to the letter and spirit of the line of the Sixth World Congress of the C. I. The declaration plainly states that: "The new draft letter. . . . . makes an estimate of our Party work" (i. e. the work of the Communist Party of America) "and leadership totally at variance with the line and decisions of the Sixth World Congress. . . . ."

I shall not attempt to show that these assertions of the declaration are a petty and unworthy libel on the Comintern and its executive organs. It is also not worth attempting to show that it is in fact the present leaders of the majority of the Communist Party of America who have violated, and continue to violate, the basic decisions of the Congresses of the Comintern and its executive organs on the question of liquidating factionalism in the American Communist Party. Comrade Kuusinen has fully shown in his speech that both factions of the American Communist Party and particularly the majority faction, have, beginning with 1925, systematically violated the fundamental decisions of the Congresses of the Comintern regarding the liquidation of factionalism and the establishment of unity. One has only to acquaint oneself with the resolutions of the Congresses of the Comintern to convince oneself that in the leaders of the present majority we have incorrigible violators of the spirit and letter of the decisions of the Comintern.

As to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, in its decision on the American Communist Party it plainly declares that "the chief task of the Party is to put an end to the factional struggle, which is not based on any serious differences of principle." What has the group of Comrade Lovestone done to carry out this decision of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern? You can see for yourselves, comrades, that so far it has done nothing in this direction. On the contrary, it has done, and is doing, everything possible to transform the decision of the Sixth Congress into a scrap of paper.

Such are the facts.

And if, in spite of all these facts, the declaration nevertheless accuses the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. with violating the "letter and spirit of the line of the Sixth World Congress," what does it mean? It means that the authors of the declaration desire to oppose the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to the line of the Sixth World Congress, which they themselves violated and continue to violate. And why do they do that? In order, pharisaically concealing themselves under the flag of the Sixth Congress, to conduct a fight against the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. In this way the authors of the declaration, so to speak, declare: We, the Lovestone group are for the Sixth Congress, but the draft for the Open Letter of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. contradicts the line of the Sixth Congress; therefore, we must, and shall, fight the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

The authors of the declaration apparently think there is something new in this deceitful "manoeuvre" and that we shall fail to decipher what is the concealed meaning of their "manoeuvres." Not so, comrades. They are mistaken in their reckoning. The history of the Comintern shows that comrades who have moved away from the Comintern always begin with just such "manoeuvres." When Zinoviev moved away from the Comintern he began by counterposing the line of the Comintern to the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. He did that in order to conceal his fight against the Executive Committee by talk regarding the line of the Comintern. The same is true of Trotsky, who began his divergence from the Comintern by drawing a distinction between the line of the Comintern and the decisions of the Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. That is the old, outworn path of opportunism, as old as the world itself. It is regrettable that the authors of the declaration have been drawn into this same path.

In counterposing the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the authors of the declaration hope, as Zinoviev and Trotsky once hoped, to sever the Executive Committee of the Comintern from the Comintern. A ridiculous and foolish hope! The authors of the declaration apparently forget that the interpreters of the decisions of the Comintern Congresses are the Executive Committee and its Presidium alone, and not they. The authors of the declaration are mistaken if they think that the American workers will believe their interpretation rather than the interpretation of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Such is the true character of the declaration of the American delegation.

Hence, the declaration of the American delegation is a platform of struggle against the line of the Comintern in the name of opportunist facillation, in the name of unprincipled factionalism, in the name of the violation of the unity of the American Communist Party.

Let us turn to the draft of the Commission.

What is the basis for the draft of the Commission which is now offered for the consideration of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.? It is based on the idea of maintaining the line of the Comintern within the ranks of the Communist Party of America, on the idea of bolshevizing the American Communist Party, on the idea of fighting the deviation from the Marxist line, and, above all, the Right deviation,

on the idea of Leninist Party unity, and finally, and above all, on the idea of completely liquidating factionalism. For it must after all be realized, comrades, that factionalism is the *fundamental evil* of the American Communist Party.

In the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class we Bolsheviks have not infrequently had occasion to conduct a factional fight against opportunism. It was at the time when the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks found themselves *in one common Party*, when the Bolsheviks were obliged to organize a faction in order to break down the authority of the social-democrats, to organize a split against Social-Democracy and to create *our own* Communist Party. At that time factionalism was useful and essential. But now? Now it is a different matter. Conditions have changed basically. At present we have our own monolithic Communist Parties, sections of the Communist International. Now factionalism is dangerous and harmful, because it weakens communism, weakens the communist offensive against reformism, undermines the struggle of communism against social-democracy in the labor movement. Our American comrades evidently do not understand the fundamental difference between the past and the present.

Wherein consists the evil of factionalism within the ranks of a Communist Party?

*Firstly*, in that factionalism weakens the Party spirit, it dulls the revolutionary sense and blinds the Party workers to such an extent that, in the factional passion, they are obliged to place the interests of faction above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism not infrequently brings matters to such a pass that the Party workers, blinded by the factional struggle, are inclined to gauge all facts, all events in the life of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the working class, but from the point of view of the narrow interests of their own faction, from the point of view of their own factional kitchen.

Did not Comrade Lovestone and his friends know that they should have held aloof from Pepper, and that they should have repudiated him so as not to compromise themselves as revolutionaries? Why, in spite of several warnings given by the Comintern, did they not repudiate him at the time? Because they acted first and foremost as factionalists. Because every bit of splinter, every piece of string is to be valued in a factional fight, even every poor soldier, even every poor officer. Because even people like Pepper may serve a purpose in a factional fight. Because factional blindness compelled them to place the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party.

Did not Comrade Foster know that he should have held aloof from the concealed Trotskyites that were in his group? Why, in spite of repeated warnings, did he not repudiate them at the time? Because he behaved first and foremost as a factionalist. Because in the factional fight against the Lovestone group even concealed Trotskyites might be useful to him. Because the blindness of factionalism dulls the Party sense in people and makes them indiscriminating as to the means they employ. It is true, such a policy is bad and irreconcilable with the interests of the Party. But factionalists as a rule are inclined to forget the interests of the Party—all they can think of is their own factional point of view.

*Secondly*, in that factionalism interferes with the training of the Party in the spirit of a policy of principles; it prevents the training of the cadres in an honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionary spirit, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled intrigue. Leninism declares that a policy based on principles is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary, believes that the only correct policy is one of factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional intrigue. That is why an atmosphere of factional struggle cultivates not politicians of principle, but adroit factionalist manipulators, experienced rascals and Mensheviks, smart in fooling the "enemy" and covering up traces. It is true that such "educational" work of the factionalists is contrary to the fundamental interests of the Party and the working class. But the factionalists do not give a rap for that—all they care about is their own factional diplomatic kitchen, their own group interests. It is therefore not surprising that politicians of principle and honest proletarian revolutionaries get no sympathy from the factionalists. On the other hand, factional tricksters and manipulators, unprincipled intriguers and back-stage wire-pullers and masters in the formation of unprincipled blocks are held by them in high honor.

*Thirdly*, in that factionalism, by weakening the will for unity in the Party and by undermining its iron discipline, creates within the Party a peculiar factional regime, as a result of which the whole internal life of our Party is robbed of its conspirative protection in the face of the class enemy, and the Party itself runs the danger of being transformed into a plaything of the agents of the bourgeoisie. This, as a rule, comes about in the following way: Let us say that some question is being decided in the Polit-bureau of the Central Committee. Within the Polit-bureau there is a minority and a majority which regard each decision from their factional standpoint. If a factional regime prevails in the Party, the wirepullers of both factions immediately inform the peripheral machine of this or that decision of the Polit-bureau, endeavoring to prepare it for their own advantage and swing it in the direction they desire. As a rule, this process of information becomes a regular system. It becomes a regular system because each faction regards it as its duty to inform its peripheral machine in the way it thinks fit and to hold its periphery in a condition of mobilization in readiness for a scrap with the factional enemy. As a result, important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge. In this way the agents of the bourgeoisie attain access to the secret decisions of the Party and make it easy to use the knowledge of the internal life of the Party against the interests of the Party. True, such a regime threatens the complete demoralization of the ranks of the Party. But the factionalists do not care about that, since for them, the interests of their group are supreme.

*Finally*, the evil of factionalism consists in the fact that it completely nullifies all positive work done in the Party; it robs the Party workers of all desire to concern themselves with the day-to-day needs of the working class (wages, hours, the improvement of the material welfare of the workers, etc.); it weakens the work of the Party in preparing the working class for the class conflicts with the bourgeoisie and thereby creates a state of affairs in which the authority of the Party must inevitably suffer in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party, are compelled to quit the Party ranks. And that is what we are now observing in the American Communist

Party. What have the factional leaders of the majority and the minority been chiefly occupied with lately? With factional scandal-mongering, with every kind of petty factional trifle, the drawing up of useless platforms and sub-platforms, the introduction of tens and hundreds of amendments and sub-amendments to these platforms. Weeks and months are wasted lying in ambush for the factional enemy, trying to entrap him, trying to dig up something in the personal life of the factional enemy, or, if nothing can be found, inventing some fiction about him. It is obvious that positive work must suffer in such an atmosphere, the life of the Party becomes petty, the authority of the Party declines and the workers, the best, the revolutionary minded workers, who want action and not scandalmongering, are forced to leave the Party.

That, fundamentally, is the evil of factionalism in the ranks of a Communist Party.

Hence, the most important task of the American Communist Party is to put an end to factionalism and definitely cure itself of this disease.

It is on this that the draft of the Commission presented for your consideration is based.

A few words regarding the vaunting manner in which the group of Comrade Lovestone speaks and represents itself here in the name of the whole Party, in the name of 99 percent of the Communist Party of America. They never represent themselves otherwise than in the name of 99 percent of the Party. One would think they have that 99 percent in their pockets. That is a bad manner, comrades of the American delegation. Let me remind you that Zinoviev and Trotzky also at one time played trumps with percentages, and assured everybody that they had secured, or at any rate, would secure, a 99 percent majority in the ranks of the C. P. S. U. You know, comrades, in what a farce the vain glory of Trotzky and Zinoviev ended. I would therefore advise you not to play trumps with percentages. You declare you have a certain majority in the American Communist Party and that you will retain that majority under all circumstances. That is untrue, comrades of the American delegation, absolutely untrue. You had a majority because the American Communist Party until now regarded you as the determined supporters of the Communist International. And it was only because the Party regarded you as the friends of the Comintern that you had a majority in the ranks of the American Communist Party. But what will happen if the American workers learn that you intend to break the unity of the ranks of the Comintern and are thinking of conducting a fight against its executive bodies—that is the question, dear comrades? Do you think that the American workers will follow your lead against the Comintern, that they will prefer the interests of your factional group to the interests of the Comintern? There have been numerous cases in the history of the Comintern when its most popular leaders, who had greater authority than you, found themselves isolated as soon as they raised the banner against the Comintern. Do you think you will fare better than these leaders? A poor hope, comrades! At present you still have a formal majority. But tomorrow you will have no majority and you will find yourselves completely isolated if you attempt to start a fight against the decisions of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. You may be certain of that dear comrades.

Comrade Lovestone is spoken of as a talented leader, as the founder of the American Communist Party. It is said that the Communist Party of America cannot get along without Comrade Lovestone, that the removal of Comrade Lovestone may ruin the Party. That is not true, comrades. More than that, it is not sincere. It would be a bad Party that could not get along without any given leader. The Communist Party of America is not as weak as certain comrades think. It is, in any case, many times stronger than it is made out to be. The Party is created by the working class and not by individual leaders. To declare the contrary would be absurd. And, what is more, comrade Lovestone after all is not such a great leader. He is, of course, a capable and talented comrade. But how have his capabilities been employed? In fact scandalmongering, in factional intrigue. Comrade Lovestone is indisputably an adroit and talented factional wirepuller. No one can deny him that. But factional leadership must not be confused with Party leadership. A Party leader is one thing, a factional leader is something quite different. Not every factional leader has the gift of being a Party leader. I doubt very much that at this stage Comrade Lovestone can be a Party leader.

That is how matters stand, comrades.

And what is the solution, you will ask? In my opinion the solution is to accept the draft of the Commission, to reject the declaration of the American delegation and to lay on all members of the Communist Party of America the duty of unreservedly carrying out the decisions of the Presidium. Either the American comrades will unhesitatingly submit to the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and actively carry them into effect—and that will be an important step toward destroying factionalism, toward peace in the Party; or they will stick to their declaration and refuse to submit to the decisions of the E. C. C. I.—and that will mean no peace, but war against the Comintern, war within the ranks of the American Communist Party. We propose peace and unity. If the comrades of the American delegation adopt our proposals, well and good; if not, all the worse for them. The Comintern will take its due course under all circumstances. Of that you may be sure, dear comrades.

Finally, a word or two regarding the new processes of bolshevizing the sections of the Comintern which are proceeding at the present time.

In conversation with me the other day, Comrade Lovestone declared that some phrase or other regarding a "running sore" in the apparatus of the Comintern, was a slip of the tongue. He assured me that the phrase was a chance one and had no connection with his relations to the Comintern. I answered that if the phrase were indeed an accidental one, it was not worth paying any attention to, although the phrase itself was undoubtedly untrue and mistaken. However, some time later I acquainted myself with the report made by Comrade Lovestone at the Sixth Congress, where he again speaks of a "running sore," but this time not in relation to the apparatus of the Comintern, but to world capitalism. Apparently, the phrase "running sore" is not altogether a chance one with Comrade Lovestone. "Running sore" in relation to world capitalism implies, we must assume, the crisis of world capitalism, the process of its disintegration.



And what does Comrade Lovestone mean by the "running sore" in the apparatus of the Communist International? Apparently the same crisis and demoralization of the Comintern apparatus. What else could that expression mean? What is it that makes Lovestone speak of a "running sore" or of a crisis in the Comintern apparatus? Obviously the same thing that prompts the Right wingers in the ranks of the C. P. S. U. to speak of a crisis and of demoralization in the Communist International. Speaking of demoralization of the Comintern, the Right wingers usually refer to such facts as the expulsion of Right wingers from the German Communist Party, the debacle of the Right wingers in the Czecho-Slovakian Party, the isolation of the Right wingers in the French Communist Party, the fight for the isolation of the incorrigible factionalists in the American Communist Party, and so forth and so on.

Well, perhaps these facts are really symptoms of grave illness of the Communist International, symptoms of its demoralization, symptoms of a "running sore" in the Communist International? Of course not, comrades. Only philistines and Babbitts in the Party can think that. The fact of the matter is that this is a beneficent process of cleansing the sections of the Communist International of opportunist and wavering elements. The Parties are being bolshevized and strengthened by ridding themselves of decay. That this is the meaning of the recent events in the German, Czecho-Slovakian, American, French, and other Parties is clear. To the philistines in the Party all this appears to be a sign of demoralization of the Comintern because they can not see further than their nose. But revolutionary Marxians know that this is a beneficent process of bolshevization of our brother Parties without which the proletariat cannot be prepared for the imminent class conflicts.

There are many who think that nothing has changed in the international situation of late, that everything has remained as of old. This is not true, comrades. The fact of the matter is that we have an accentuation of the class struggle in all capitalist countries, a growing revolutionary crisis in Europe, growing conditions of a new revolutionary upward swing. Yesterday this was signalized by a general strike in Lodz. Not so long ago we had a signal from Berlin. Tomorrow we shall get signals from France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, America, India, China. Soon the ground will be too hot for world capitalism.

The duty of the Communist Party is at once to begin preparatory work for the coming class struggles, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for new revolutionary struggles. The fight against reformism, against social democracy must be intensified. The struggle for the winning of the millions of the working masses to the side of Communism must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of the storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm. But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliatory elements, who objectively represent the agency of social democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter, not

at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for, I repeat, time does not wait, and we must not allow events to catch us unawares. A couple of years ago we might not have been so urgent about this matter, counting on the fact that the molecular process of bolshevization of the Parties would gradually eliminate the Right and the wavering elements, all the Brandlers and Thalheimers, all and every factional wirepuller, etc., etc. We might not have been so urgent because there was no danger of being belated.

But matters stand differently now. To delay now means to be late, and to be late means to be caught unawares by the revolutionary crisis. Therefore, the cleansing process of the Communist Parties now proceeding is a beneficent process, strengthening the Comintern and its sections. The philistines are afraid of this beneficent process, and in their fright talk nonsense regarding the disintegration of the Comintern, just because they are philistines. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, will always welcome this beneficent process, because it is at the same time an integral part of the great cause of preparing the working class for the approaching class struggles, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world.

The merit of the draft of the Commission, consists in the fact, among others, that it assists the Communist Party of America in carrying this main task into effect.

### III. SECOND SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE PRESIDIUM OF THE E. C. C. I. ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION

(May 14, 1929)

It seems to me, comrades, that certain American comrades fail to understand the position that has been created now that the draft of the Commission has been adopted by the Presidium. Apparently comrades do not fully realize that to defend one's convictions when the decision had not yet been taken is one thing, and to submit to the will of the Comintern after the decision has been taken is another. One might, and one ought to have, criticized and fought against the draft of the Commission if the members of the delegation considered it was a wrong one. But now that the draft of the Commission has become the decision of the Presidium, the American delegates should have the manhood to submit to the will of the collective, the will of the Comintern, and assume responsibility for carrying into effect the decision of the Comintern.

We ought to value the firmness and stubbornness displayed here by eight of the ten American delegates in their fight against the draft of the Commission. But it is impossible to approve the fact that these eight comrades, after their views have suffered complete defeat, refuse to subordinate their will to the will of the higher collective, the will of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. True bolshevik courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above the will of the collective, above the will of the Comintern. True courage consists in being strong enough to master and overcome one's self and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, the will of the higher Party body. Without that there is no collective. Without that there is not, and cannot be, any collective leadership.

I think you will not deny the Russian Bolshevik's courage, firmness, and ability to defend their convictions. How did any group of Russian Bolsheviks usually act when they found themselves in a minority?

Not wishing to break the iron discipline of the Party, the minority as a rule conformed to the will of the majority. There have been tens and hundreds of instances in the history of our Party when a section of Bolsheviks, convinced that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party had taken a wrong decision, nevertheless, after discussion, after hot dispute, after defending their convictions, would declare their complete readiness to conform to the decisions of the higher leading collective and carry them into effect. I might mention such an instance which took place in 1907 when a section of the Bolsheviks were in favor of boycotting the Duma, whereas the larger section of Bolsheviks were for a change in policy in favor of participating in the Duma, and the minority unreservedly submitted to the will of the majority. The Russian Bolsheviks would have ruined the cause of the Russian Revolution had they not known how to conform the will of individual comrades to the will of the majority, had they not known how to act collectively. That is how we Bolsheviks were trained the Bolsheviks who overthrew the bourgeoisie, established the Soviet Power, and who are now shaking the foundations of world imperialism. Ability to act collectively, readiness to conform the will of individual comrades to the will of the collective, that is what we call true Bolshevik manhood. For without that manhood, without the ability to overcome, if you like, one's self-esteem, and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, without these qualities, there can be no collective, no collective leadership, no Communism. And that is true not only in respect to individual Parties and their central committees; it is particularly true in respect to the Comintern and its leading organs, which unite all Parties of Communists throughout the world.

Comrades Gitlow and Lovestone announced here with aplomb that their conscience and convictions do not permit them to submit to the decisions of the Presidium and carry them into effect. The same was said by Comrade Bloor. What they said amounted to this, that since they do not agree with the decision of the Presidium, they cannot submit to that decision and carry it into effect. But only Anarchists, individualists can talk like that, not Bolsheviks, not Leninists, who are obliged to place the will of the collective above their individual will. They talk of their conscience.

But the members of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. also have their conscience and convictions. What is to be done if the conscience and convictions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. conflict with the conscience and convictions of individual members of the American delegation? What is to be done if the American delegation in the Presidium received only one vote for their declaration, the vote of Comrade Gitlow, while the remaining members of the Presidium unanimously declared themselves against the declaration of the American delegation and in favor of the draft of the Commission? Members of the American delegation, do you think that the conscience and convictions of Comrade Gitlow are above the conscience and convictions of the overwhelming majority of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.? Do you begin to understand that if each of us starts to act according to his own will without reckoning with the will of the collective, we shall never come to any decision; we shall never have any collective will, nor any leadership?

Let us take any factory or plant. Let us assume that the majority of the workers of that factory show an inclination to go on strike, whereas

the minority, on the plea of their convictions, declare against a strike. A war of opinions commences, meetings are held, and in the end the vast majority in the factory decide to strike. What would you say of ten or twenty workers, representing a minority in the factory, who declared they would not submit to the decision of the majority of the workers, since they were not in agreement with that decision? What would you call them, dear comrades? You know that such workers are usually called strike-breakers. Is it not clear that strikes, demonstrations and other collective actions of the workers would be absolutely impossible if the minority did not subordinate itself to the majority? Is it not clear that we should never have had any decisions or any collective will, neither in the individual Parties, nor in the Comintern, if individuals, and minorities in general, did not submit to the will of the majority, to the will of the higher collective?

That is how it works out, comrades of the American delegation.

Finally, a few words as to the fate of the American Communist Party in connection with the decision adopted by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. The comrades of the American delegation regard the matter too tragically. They declare that with the adoption of the draft of the Commission the American Communist Party will either perish, or in any case, will totter on the brink of a precipice. That is not so, comrades. More than that, it is absolutely ludicrous. The American Communist Party lives and will continue to live, in spite of the prophecies of the comrades of the American delegation. What is more, the American Party if it drives unprincipled factionalism out of its midst will grow and flourish. The importance of the decision adopted by the Presidium consists in the very fact that it will make it easier for the American Communist Party to put an end to unprincipled factionalism, create unity in the Party and finally enter on the broad path of mass political work. No, comrades, the American Communist Party will not perish. It will live and flourish to the dismay of the enemies of the working class. Only one small factional group will perish if it continues to be stubborn, if it does not submit to the will of the Comintern, if it continues to adhere to its errors. But the fate of one small faction must in no case be identified with the fate of the American Communist Party. Because one small factional group is liable to perish politically, it does not follow, that the American Communist Party must perish. And, if it is inevitable that this small factional group perish, then let it perish, as long as the Communist Party will grow and develop. You look at the situation too pessimistically, dear comrades of the American delegation. My outlook is optimistic.

Upon returning from Moscow in June 1929, Ben Gitlow and Jay Lovestone tried to rally support for their opposition to Stalin's decision. All but a few of their erstwhile associates quickly ostracized them. Lovestone then set up a splinter group known as the Communist Party, U. S. A. (majority group).<sup>1</sup> After having undergone several changes of name, it finally became the Independent Labor League of America.<sup>2</sup> In January 1941, Lovestone declared his organization to be disbanded. For many years, he has been active on the AFL Free Trade Union Committee. Today he is its executive secretary.

In July 1932, Benjamin Gitlow broke away from Lovestone's opposition group.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Organized Communism in the United States*, p. 143. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 11, December 3, 1939, pp. 7090-7188.

<sup>3</sup> Gitlow, *I Confess*, p. 575. See also his testimony before the Dies committee, vol. 7, September 7-9, 1939, pp. 4529-4746.

## EXHIBIT No. 11

*[Inprecorr, August 2, 1929. Pp. 801-802]*

## THE ANTI-COMINTERN OPPOSITION IN THE AMERICAN PARTY

By H. M. Wicks

The resistance to the line of the Communist International on the part of Jay Lovestone and some of his factional supporters in the Communist Party of the United States of America has now developed into an open campaign against the C. I. The Communist International, in its Open Letter to the Sixth Congress of the American Party made definite proposals to correct the political line of the Party that was manifestly deviating to the Right and to overcome the long factional struggle by removing from work in the Party for a period of time those considered the most culpable leading factionalists. Lovestone and Pepper and their principal supporters resisted these proposals and deliberately organised the overwhelming majority of the delegates against the decisions.

Not daring to come before the proletarian delegates at the Party congress with open opposition to the political line of the Open Letter, Lovestone & Co. charged that the organisational proposals (one of which demanded his removal from work in the American Party) were not justified by the political line of the Open Letter. A proposal was made by Lovestone's supporters to appeal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International against the organisational measures. A delegation was selected and dispatched to Moscow with the understanding that when the appeal was finally decided they were all to accept it and carry it out.

From the moment of the arrival of the delegation in Moscow it was plain that Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe were deliberately preparing the delegation to resist the Comintern even after the final decision on the appeal. The keynote for the anti-Comintern line to be pursued was sounded by Bertram D. Wolfe, who had been sent to Moscow as the representative of the American Party. Wolfe charged before the American commission that the Comintern was deviating from the line of Lenin in dealing with the problem of the American Party. His was precisely the language used by people who are on their way out of the Comintern. This open attack on the Comintern was supplemented by malignant "corridor" gossip to the effect that the Comintern was degenerating, that the Five Year Industrialisation Plan of the Soviet Union was a fraud and doomed to failure, that the Soviet government was abandoning the revolution and following a course of compromise with capitalist elements. Though not yet definitely formulated, certainly the content of such maligning of the Comintern and the Soviet Union was nothing other than the Trotzkyist platform of Thermidorianism. This had been expressed in typical Tammany gutter language when Lovestone, during the last congress of the American Party referred to the Open Letter and the organisational proposals as the result of a "running sore" in the Communist international.

As leaders of the delegation in Moscow, Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe thought the majority of the membership of the American Party would follow them in a struggle against the Comintern. In this they were disappointed.

The first blow to their conspiracy to wage an open fight against the Comintern was administered when they sent a cable to the United States urging their former factional associates to seize all the Party institutions, sell the buildings and equipment owned by the Party and to utilize the proceeds for organising a struggle against the Comintern. The comrades to whom this infamous proposal was made exposed it and began active mobilisation for the line of the Comintern.

Now that Lovestone has returned to the United States in plain violation of the decision of the Comintern, for which he was promptly expelled from the American Party, the Party is able clearly to perceive his whole Right wing line, which has now crystallised into a political platform that, in its international aspect attains complete identity with the Rights and conciliators in Germany. They speak of the necessity of mobilizing the Party to resist "destructive Comintern methods against Brandler, Hais, etc." Again they say "the Comintern is killing such valuable elements as Evert, Humbert-Droz, etc." Lovestone & Co. at first formulated their resistance to the line of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, by developing their theory of American exceptionalism. They said the line of the Sixth Congress, the estimate of the third post-war period of capitalist development, could be applied to certain other countries of the world, but that it did not yet apply to the United States. They saw only the rising power of American imperialism, its outdistancing of Britain. They spoke of its formidable power, of its having "attained world hegemony", but they could not perceive that the very growth of American imperialism sharpened all the fundamental antagonisms of capitalism, internally and externally. They could not see that the disproportion between production and the market affected all the imperialist countries of the world. They could only see in the industrialization of the South of the United States an evidence of the tremendous reserve power of American imperialism but they could not see the mighty class conflicts being generated by that very industrialization which was proceeding under the most modern methods of capitalist rationalisation. In short the Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe combination, that together with Pepper was in reality the ideological and political leader of the majority faction of the Party, could see only the might of American imperialism before which they stood appalled and paralysed.

When they finally learned that the Sixth Congress did not exempt the United States from its estimate of the period of post war capitalism, and when the Comintern sternly corrected their political line, they then came forth as open opponents of the line of the Sixth Congress. They now repeat the identical words of the Brandlers who traduce the heroic May Day struggle of the Berlin workers as a "putsch", and interpret the defeat of the workers in Wedding and Neukölln as evidence of the increasing might of capitalism; as a refutation of the analysis of third period was one of growing precariousness of capitalist stabilisation.

The leaders of the American opposition have travelled so far on the road of apostacy that they cannot perceive that the very fact of the occurrence of such a struggle as the May Day events in Berlin is in itself evidence of the extreme precariousness of capitalist stabilisation. By taking such a position as it does, the Lovestone opposition

completely aligns itself with Humbert-Droz and Serra who saw in the defeat of the British general strike, the Vienna rising, and the declining revolutionary wave in China the strengthening of the power of capitalism, instead of recognising that such events themselves are evidence of the shaky foundation on which the capitalist system rests at this moment.

It is with such a programme that Lovestone tries to fight against the line of the Communist International in the American Party. But he has miserably failed to alienate even an appreciable number from the Party Line. In spite of the baneful effect of the long factional struggle, upon the theoretical development of the Party, the membership, composed in the overwhelming majority of proletarian elements, did not hesitate for one second when it came to a question of making a choice between following the line of the Comintern or following the line of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe into the camp of the Right wing by the route of conciliation. The rotten diplomacy that Lovestone used in playing Tammany Hall tricks while professing loyalty to the Comintern and thereby fooling the membership proved of no avail when once the membership was fully aware of the fact that Lovestone was openly opposed to the line of the Comintern. The defeat of the Lovestone attempt to split the Party is absolutely assured. The membership of the Party is overwhelming opposed to his anti-Comintern line, and approves his expulsion from the Party for his defiance of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To this day, however, Lovestone and his supporters is continuing his policy of distorting Comintern decisions. Even while opposing the political line of the Sixth World Congress analysis of the tasks of the third period of post-war capitalism, Lovestone declares the Sixth Congress referred to him as a "stalwart leader" of mass struggles. Such a total misrepresentation of the theses of the Sixth Congress is obvious. The actual statement made in the theses was: "A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Party a stalwart leader."

Small remnants of a concealed opposition in the Party accept the decision to expel Lovestone, but say that the expulsion of Lovestone from the Party, the removal of Gitlow and Wolfe from the Political Bureau weakens the Party leadership. Such erroneous views must be strenuously combated. If we are to approach the question in a Leninist, a Bolshevik manner, we must not only deal with the particular acts of Lovestone and his supporters, but we must ask the questions!—"Why, at this particular moment, does the right danger assume threatening organisational forms? Why does Lovestone now expose himself as a right-wing leader?"

The answer to these questions is to be found in the conditions of struggle imposed upon the working class in the third period of post-war development; a period characterised by a swing of the working class to the left, by determined resistance to the onslaughts of the capitalist class, a period in which the working class is taking the counter-offensive against capitalism. Such a situation imposes special tasks upon the Communist Parties as the motivating force, the coordinating force that gives revolutionary direction to the mass offensive against capitalism.

In such a period Communism has to contend with a number of petty bourgeois tendencies which reflect the instability of that class and the vacillation and hesitation of that strata of society. It is precisely in periods of sharpening class conflicts, on the eve of great historical events, in periods when all the contradictions of capitalism become sharpened and imperialism approaches another world war, that such political instability manifests itself in the form of open opportunism. The position of Lovestone and the whole international right wing in this period is nothing more nor less than capitulation before the capitalist enemy. This fact must be clearly understood by every member of the American Party.

Certainly any revolutionist will recognise that it is far better for vacillating elements to expose themselves in such a time as the present than to have them remain in the Party until such time as we face the cataclysmic outburst of another imperialist war and to have them then capitulate to the enemy. Such defections strengthen the Party by cleansing its leadership and its ranks of unreliable petty-bourgeois elements and clearing the ground for the development of a Party and a leadership that can lead the revolutionary struggle under the most trying conditions.

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Our next exhibit consists of two short letters illustrative of the interlocking character of Comintern activities around the world. In 1927, a Comintern conference was held in Hankow, China, with the objective of establishing a Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS).<sup>1</sup> Communist Party and Communist front activities in China, Japan, and other oriental countries were tied in with those of similar organizations in the Western Hemisphere and, of course, with Comintern headquarters in Moscow. At the Hankow conference, Earl Browder was appointed secretary of PPTUS. Eugene Dennis, who rose from the ranks of the west coast comrades to become general secretary of the CPUSA, did extensive Comintern work in the Orient.<sup>2</sup> Gerhardt Eisler also helped (see. D, exhibit No. 86).

The two letters were part of a collection of foreign documents found in Earl Browder's possession when he was picked up by the Detroit, Mich., police.<sup>3</sup> A. Lozovsky is today Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in the U. S. S. R. (see. B, exhibit No. 38; sec. D, exhibit No. 15).

### EXHIBIT No. 12

[Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, House of Representatives, 71st Cong., 2d sess. *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*. Pt. IV, vol. 1, July 26, 1930. Pp. 285, 286]

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FEBRUARY 11.

COMRADE BROWDER: We received your letter at the beginning of January. We have been hoping to establish close connections with our party and are very glad that it is really begun to be realized.

We are glad that your party is proceeding the way of bolshevization, eliminating opportunist element far more energetically than before.

<sup>1</sup> Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, New York, Dutton, 1962, pp. 302-303. Deverall, *War*, pp. 251-252.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 271.

<sup>3</sup> Spolansky, *Communist Trail in America*, pp. 89-92.



Our party which has suffered severe blow on April 16 of last year is now already reconstructed as to be able to organize independent national campaign.

We think that comrades of executive committee of the Communist International and sections of the Communist International are very anxious about the conditions of our party.

We shall fight energetically as before against the opportunist element who go against the line of the Communist International.

The opposition of our party was completely defeated; one of the defects of our party at present is the lack of connection with the executive committee of the Communist International.

We hope that your party will assist us on this question before every other point.

We sent our report to the executive committee of the Communist International with this letter.

Please hand it to the comrade from the executive committee of the Communist International.

With comradely greeting.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN.

MARCH 4, 1930.

DEAR FRIEND BROWDER (United States of America): It is many months now since I received anything from you with regard to the Pan Pacific Monthly. Who is on this work in San Francisco now that Harrison George is on the Daily Worker? We started to publish this organ in San Francisco in order to have another center for the Pan Pacific Secretariat. I have received information from Shanghai that all attempts to get in touch with you have failed. What is the matter? If you are so engaged on other work that you are absolutely unable to deal with the Pan Pacific Monthly, you should let me know. If the party has instructed Harrison George to carry on other work, there should be another comrade put in his place; otherwise we will harm the Pan Pacific Secretariat.

Besides the question about the position of the Pan Pacific Monthly, I have another question to deal with. The position in Mexico and Central America at present is such that reinforced assistance for our comrades in these countries is required. Formerly we were able to extend a certain amount of help from Mexico. Now that the Mexican Party and the unitary unions of Mexico have been driven underground, it is necessary to organize a bureau for Central America in New York. It is hardly possible that you would be able to take this up personally. But would it not be possible for Harrison George to deal with it, together with his other work? He knows Spanish, knows these countries, and his participation would be extremely desirable. I want a telegraphed reply to this question, as we have taken a decision to set up a bureau for Central America in New York, and we must arrange with you who should direct this work.

Very comradely greetings.

(Signed with red pencil.)

A. LOZOVSKY.

Despite the fact that the *Party Organizer* had a restricted circulation, the Central Committee of the CPUSA saw fit to reprint in its pages only a few relatively innocuous passages from Vassiliev's pamphlet. Some of the highly conspiratorial material excluded from the *Party Organizer* can be found in section D, exhibit No. 12.

In order to prepare its readers for a proper reception of the Vassiliev directive, the *Party Organizer* reported in its February 1931 issue the 21 Conditions for Admission to the Communist International (sec. C, exhibit No. 3). Conditions 14 and 16 are particularly relevant:

"14. Parties desiring to join the Communist International must render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. They should conduct an organized and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to make or handle any kind of military equipment intended for use against the Soviet Republics, and should also carry on, by legal or illegal means, a propaganda among any troops sent against the Workers' Republics.

"16. Resolution adopted by the Communist International and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated Parties. \* \* \*"

### EXHIBIT No. 13

[*Party Organizer*, Issued by the Central Committee Communist Party, U. S. A. February 1931. P. 1]

### WHO SHOULD READ THE PARTY ORGANIZER AND WHY

**THE *Party Organizer* should be read by every functionary of the Party, by every member of a Party Committee, Bureau, Commission and Department, and finally by every leading and active Party member.**

**The material and articles in the *Party Organizer* are of immediate practical value for the Party Committees, departments, units and classes on Party Structure. The *Party Organizer* is a guide to action in the solution of tens of hundreds of day-to-day organizational problems confronting the Party. The *Party Organizer* must and will serve the Party Committees and Organizers as the practical guide in tightening up the Party apparatus and developing the structure of our Party on the basis of Bolshevik organizational principles.**

### FOR PARTY MEMBERS ONLY

**The *Party Organizer* is an inner-Party organ. It is to be read by Party members only. The practice of selling it to non-Party workers, especially at mass meetings, must be discontinued. While there is nothing conspirative nor confidential in the *Party Organizer*, nothing that we need to hide from the masses, we must, however, differentiate between agitational and propaganda literature for the non-Party masses and inner-Party literature for Party members written for the purpose of improving the Party.**

[March 1931. Pp. 31-32]

### SOME PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

(From Vassiliev's Pamphlet)

### WHAT KIND OF WORKERS THE PARTY NEEDS AT PRESENT

**The circumstances of sharpening class struggle which are growing up demand a new qualification of the leading Party workers. As before, we need speakers, writers, treasurers, formulators of resolutions and so on. But above all we now need organizers closely**

connected with the masses, devotedly giving themselves to the cause of the revolutionary organization of the masses, not reckoning with any difficulties and hindrances, not reckoning with days and hours of holidays and with questions of personal comfort and well being. "It is essential to have a system of recruiting responsible comrades from those Communists who live the workers' life, know it inside out, know how to define without making mistakes in relation to any question, at any moment the mood of the masses, their real desires, the demands of the masses, who know how to determine, without any tints of false idealism, the level of their consciousness and the strength of the influence of this or that prejudice or survival of former times, who know how to win for themselves unlimited confidence of the masses by comradely relations with them, by taking pains to satisfy their needs." (From the resolution on the trade union question of the 11th Congress of the C. P. S. U., point drafted by Comrade Lenin).

In the concrete conditions of the moment we must add to those demands put forward by Comrade Lenin another demand—the ability unceasingly and mercilessly to struggle against social-fascism, social-democracy and the whole Second International at present acting as the fundamental force of the fascist dictatorship and bourgeois reaction, as the open enemies of the working class. Further, more than was ever the case, the successes of the working class movement must now be measured by the degree of the breaking up and disorganization of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. Party leaders incapable of guaranteeing the development of these successes must be changed for those who have given proof of their ability to carry out the tactic of the united front in winning over to the side of the revolution the masses of social-democratic workers and members of reformist and yellow unions, whilst at the same time carrying on a merciless consecutive ideological and organizational struggle against the social-fascist leaders.

[April 1931. Pp. 28–32]

## MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

*(Excerpts from Vassiliev's Pamphlet—Continued)*

### DEPARTMENT OF PARTY COMMITTEES

The following are rules with regard to the internal structure of Party Committees.

Party Committees must set up the most important departments and besides the departments, the most important functions of the general apparatus of Party Committees should be distributed between members of the Party Committee. The departments which should be organized under the Party Committees are those mentioned in the decisions of the 1st and 2nd International Organizational Conferences: Org. Department, Agitprop, Women's Department, Trade Union Department, etc. These departments should be constructed as commissions. One of the members of the Party Committee should undertake the responsibility for the work of the department. But every department should be made up of several comrades drawn in from the most active and capable rank and file workers from the factory nucleus. Such departments are necessary for two ends: first, in order to prepare proposals on any question for the meetings

of the Party Committee. In accordance with the accentuation of repression and the introduction of illegality for the Party, the preparation for the meetings of the Party Committee will take on a more and more serious importance. Already at the present time all Party Committees should assume the firmest course towards short sittings, well prepared beforehand—half an hour, an hour, as a rule. In accordance with this, as a second necessity, we must begin to work up a firm discipline on the tongue, to learn and learn over again to talk as little as possible, not to waste time in long speeches. It is also important to aim firmly at short resolutions, as in this respect a real scandal is to be observed in our Parties. Endlessly long resolutions are written which in many cases, because of their length, are not put into force. As an example of the kind of absolutely impermissible relation to Party work it is necessary to point to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Plenum of whose C. C. in 19— wrote a resolution 500 pages long. Naturally, even the members of the Central Committee cannot remember what is written in these resolutions, and even more, these resolutions are inaccessible for the mass of Party members. How are they to be brought to the notice of members of completely illegal Parties? This is not to be thought of. As a result the Party remains without any resolutions or any directions. The Bulgarian example is quite an exceptional one because of its absurdity. But other Parties also write very long resolutions. If we look at the resolutions which the Russian Bolshevik Party wrote in their underground period, we can see that all these resolutions, including resolutions on the questions of armed uprising, on the question of a provisional revolutionary government, or relations with the bourgeois Parties, etc., at the very most do not take up more than two pages each. It is true that all these resolutions were written by, or in any case, edited by Lenin, and Lenin of course stands alone. Let us suppose that we cannot write as briefly, but by real honest trying we can manage to write our resolutions not more than twice as long.

The departments should help the Party Committee to prepare the meetings of the Party Committee in order that the Party Committee may decide as quickly as possible the questions which are on the agenda. In addition, these departments help the Party Committee to educate new leading workers by attending the meetings organized by the department, and by taking part in the consideration of the questions which are on the agenda, the members will learn how to decide these questions, thus training themselves for independent leading Party work. Through the departments the Party Committee may single out and prepare new workers and with them strengthen the leading cadres of the Party.

### SHOCK GROUPS

The practice of the Y. C. L. has recently given rise to the methods of so-called shock troops or shock brigades. This method of shock brigades could be usefully carried over into the activities of the Party. The term "shock brigade" is not in itself very good. Shock brigades are organized in the factories in the U. S. S. R., the Communists working in the factories organizing shock groups around which non-Party workers are gathered. But the Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class, i. e., it is in itself *the* shock

group of the working class; to create within the shock advance guard of the working class yet other shock brigades is of course at bottom not correct. But this is what IS correct. In the Party organizations of capitalist countries, numbers of Party members are not drawn into the every day work. Every Party member belongs to a unit, which meets once in two weeks or once a month, and in between these meetings Party members do not perform much Party work, in many cases, in fact, have no Party tasks at all. This happens because in the given unit at the given time, there is not much internal work, while other sections of Party work may at the same moment have important militant tasks before them. It is for the Party Committee to keep on combining Party members into different groups for the concentration of forces upon the most important section. Having performed a given task such groups or brigades are broken up or reconstructed into other groups for taking up new work. The general aim in creating such groups should be the strengthening of Party work in the big enterprises of the most important sections of industry. Here, on this problem, the full attention of the leading Party organs must be sharply directed in the near future.

#### THE "ACTIVE" OF THE PARTY

Putting every Party member, every Party worker, in his most suitable place—that is the kernel of the question, as Lenin liked to express it, and the Party organizer, in order to hit the nail on the head, must learn to put every Party member in his right place, whilst remembering that Party members cannot be shuffled around like pawns or children's bricks, which can be placed in any direction. One Party member is suitable for the organization of an illegal printing press—he must be used for this, but he may not be suitable as a propagandist, and if he is sent to carry on propaganda, this will prove of such a nature that two other propagandists will have to be sent to put his work right. Another comrade, a fine propagandist and agitator, who knows how to explain in the most popular way the most difficult political problems, or the most complicated political slogan, is a bad conspirator and if he is assigned to conspirative work he will bring harm to the Party. Therefore, the Party organizer must in the most careful way study the human material with which he has to deal, in order to know to what concrete task that human material can best be applied. In the first place all opportunists, laggards, phrasemongers, bureaucrats, etc., who are still present in the leading cadres of the Communist Parties must be shown their proper place, which is not in leading work, and in many cases not even within the ranks of the Party. In the immediate future, if we are going to guarantee really a serious change in our Party work, we must carry out a serious renewal of the leading cadres by changing unsuitable workers for new forces, who have grown up, are growing up and will continue to grow up in the depths of the working class. In this direction we must be very bold, not being afraid to promote to leading work young comrades who have shown themselves capable organizers of strikes and demonstrations. We must be very bold in making use of the creative experience of the revolutionary proletarian masses, for this experience has been and will always be the most decisive in the work of the Communist Parties and the whole of the Communist International. It was not for nothing that Marx said that every

practical step of the workers' movement is more important than a dozen programs. Nobody can accuse Marx of underestimating the importance of theory in the working class movement, but if Marx, with all his great demands for theoretical clarity on the fundamental principles of the working class movement, nevertheless said that every practical step of the workers' movement is more important than a dozen programs, that must emphasize the deep importance of using the revolutionary experience of the masses. We must remember, for example, that the idea of the Soviet power is not the invention of genius of our great leader Comrade Lenin, but that this method and this form of organization of the working masses and the organization of the working class State was created by the initiative and creative sense of the working masses. Lenin, the leader of genius, took this idea which had been given birth to by the creative powers of the wide working masses, explained it and developed it. The lesson of the Russian Revolution must be a lesson for all Communist Parties and for all Party organizations. Every Party organization in the most attentive way must follow what the mass of the working class is creating in its revolutionary self activity, in the process of the class struggle, in order to put into motion those new forms which the working class creates, organizing around them the rank and file workers who have come to the fore, place these workers in leading positions and in this way open new roads to the working class movement, raising it to ever higher stages. A concrete example: the French proletariat without any directions from the C. C. of the Communist Party of France brought forward as a method for preparing a strike, and leading a strike movement, Workers' Congresses. This was done first by the miners of the North of France in the autumn of 1928. Then the C. C. of the C. P. F. and the Unitarian Confederation of Labor considered the question as to whether this was good or bad and with the help of the workers from the Congresses, carried thru an excellent mass strike, with a clearly expressed political character. In every Party all such facts must definitely be seized upon and made use of in the widest possible manner.

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Obviously a comrade who had received training at the Lenin School in Moscow, as it is here described by a former Communist, was well equipped to carry out Vassiliev's directive. William Odell Nowell was only one of the many thousands of foreign agents educated in special Soviet schools for sabotage and armed rebellion (see. D, exhibits Nos. 6 and 58A).<sup>1</sup>

According to Elizabeth Bentley, Mrs. Browder continued her OGPU work long after Nowell knew her. Apparently, her own husband Earl was the most important name on her list.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 14

[Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 11, November 30, 1939, pp. 6985, 7020-7023, 7025-7026]

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Why did you join the party, Mr. Nowell?

**Mr. NOWELL.** I was a factory worker and a student in the evening schools of Detroit. Labor conditions were not what one would desire. So naturally I tended more and more towards the study of

<sup>1</sup> Cookridge, *Soviet Spy - et*, pp. 96, 99. See also the testimony of former Comrade Zack: Hearing Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 83d Cong., 1st sess., July 7, 1953, pp. 2039-2043.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Bentley, *Out of Bondage*, New York, Devin Adair, 1951, pp. 184-185.

labor problems, social problems in general. In the meantime I came in contact with Communist propaganda. It did not mean very much to me at the time, but as time went on they made new approaches to me and as early as 1929 I was contacted by a Communist who agreed to explain the nature of my problems to me. So he went into great detail on several occasions and convinced me, at least for the time being, that their political organization offered a solution, perhaps the only solution, to my problems, economic and political.

It sounded reasonably logical at the time, so I was persuaded to take out membership.

That is why at that time and how I happened to become a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you fully advised or informed at the time you joined as to the Communist Party's program?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I did not know the program in its entirety. I picked up sketches of it through conversation; just the more elemental portions of the program; their immediate demands on economic issues; political issues; racial and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you sent to Russia during 1931, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what purpose?

Mr. NOWELL. I was sent as a student to the International Lenin University.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is that located?

Mr. NOWELL. It is located in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who sent you there?

Mr. NOWELL. The Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. Of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. For how long did you remain there?

Mr. NOWELL. I remained there from September 1931 up to December 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 2 years?

Mr. NOWELL. Approximately 2 years; at least 18 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who paid your expenses, both your traveling expenses and your living expenses, while you were in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. My traveling expenses were paid by the Central Committee of the Communist Party; my living expenses were paid by the Communist International and the Russian Government, while there in school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were there other American students in the Lenin School or University in Moscow with you?

Mr. NOWELL. There were; approximately 30.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 30?

Mr. NOWELL. Approximately 30 students.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Joseph Zack there at the same time you were a student?

Mr. NOWELL. No; Zack was not. I understand Zack had been there previously, but he wasn't there then. Some of the 1930 and 1931 students had departed; others remained for a second term. So if Zack was there——

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know it.

Mr. NOWELL. I didn't know him. He might have gone back before I arrived.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the studies or instruction that you received in the Lenin University?

**Mr. NOWELL.** Our theoretical studies consisted of Marxian economics; Leninism, which is called philosophy there; trade-unionism, that is, trade-union strike strategy; labor history; the history of the two internationals; the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our other studies were military science. We studied how to dismantle the weapons of the leading countries, that is, their main weapons, such as rifles or machine guns and so on. I also studied secret service, codes. We studied strategy, beginning with the organization of a fraction—a shop fraction—clear up to the control of a trade-union, or mass organization, and developed the political parallel along with it. That is, the ideological development of the people under the influence of these fractions, and when a certain strategy applies at a certain time, and how to change that consequent upon the development of the political understanding of a person and lead him up to the higher stage, and eventually using all of these developments that we were going to consciously carry out, to make a revolution. So hence we studied the details of how to develop street fights. I mean, how to do barricade fighting, how to seize control of a city, the most strategic, economically and technically strategic points, and so on.

**Mr. VOORHIS.** Do they have textbooks on those things?

**Mr. NOWELL.** No.

**Mr. VOORHIS.** Textbooks or any stuff that was given to you to read?

**Mr. NOWELL.** Only charts on this.

**Mr. VOORHIS.** I mean, you didn't get to bring any of it back with you? You haven't any of it with you now?

**Mr. NOWELL.** No; it would not have been possible to come out with any of that sort of thing.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Would they have let you bring it out of the country?

**Mr. NOWELL.** No; they wouldn't permit it. We studied the strategy of what we called the proletarian uprising. In other words, the science of civil warfare was developed down to its fine points. And a number of people were sent to the Red Army to secure further training in this respect.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** A number of American students?

**Mr. NOWELL.** Yes. In fact, I spent some time in the Red Army myself, but I was just making a practical study of the Army, and doing international propaganda work; that is, lecturing and so on.

I was sent there for a while to make a practical study of the organization of the Army, the tactics, the methods, and so on, corresponding to the instructions we had been given. These studies we had been given by a Red Army commander who was an attaché from the Red Army to the Lenin University.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Was it made clear to the students in that university—that is, the American students—of which you were one, during those courses of instruction, the purpose for which they were being given?

**Mr. NOWELL.** Surely. The students were told, in being initiated to the school, that its purpose was to develop professional revolutionaries. That is, people who will spend all of their time in developing and leading for the Communist Party among the mass of the people. It was understood that—of course, this was understood



before we went there—that the objective, the ultimate objective of the Communist Party was to overthrow the capitalist system of society, overthrow the Government and change the capitalist system of society. Most of us thought when we went in that it sounded all right; it had no terror for us. We thought it was all right at the time, until we went deeper into it and found out actually what the Communist Party was, and what such a thing would mean, the way they wanted to do it. So the students were aware. Those that were not told the purpose of the school, and those that perhaps did not understand through the number of explanations given, were given thorough instructions, and they left with a thorough knowledge of what was expected of them when they got back to the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Soviet Government, through its Communist International, Comintern, financed the course of instruction for American citizens to train them how to overthrow the Government in this country?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that an accurate statement?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the Lenin University? Who controls it?

Mr. NOWELL. The Lenin University is controlled—I mean, its function, of course, is apparent from what I have just stated, but it is a section, and it is controlled by the Communist International, the Russian Communist Party, and, of course, the Russian Government. It is known to the outside world, if at all, as the school of the Communist International. It is more than that. It is directly connected with the Red Professors' Institute, which supplies most of its instructors. That is the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow, one of the institutions of higher learning there, especially for high party functionaries in the academic world. They did supply, when I was there, most of the instructors in the various academic subjects in the school. So it is controlled jointly—and these are not separate at bottom—by the Communist International, the Russian Communist Party, a section of the Communist International, actually its head, and the Russian government, which means the Communist Party.

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Mr. STARNES. In the school you attended, you stated, they taught you revolutionary methods, and that some of you were trained in the Russian Army. Will you get down to detail as to what type of training was given you? Was it strictly military training or specialized training of some sort in the use of certain weapons and certain tactics?

Mr. NOWELL. We were given regular military training. That is, we studied military science, strategy, such as is general in almost all countries. The strategy is pretty much the same, except in countries of different geographical situations, and so on. We had target practice and all that. Then we were taught what is called partisan warfare, the science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising. It is not done legitimately and openly. You don't march in brigades and fight like armies that are meeting each other.

Mr. STARNES. I want you to bring out that factor.

Mr. NOWELL. The conspiratory type of warfare. It is related to the boring-in process, street fighting, and how to mobile in blocks, the blocks in a city, the workers in a plant; how to develop a general

strike out of a local strike; how to develop a general strike into a city uprising, a city uprising into a national uprising, coordinating all these different uprisings. Then how to lead this thing, once it is raised, once these men are on the warpath, how to direct them. Then we come to something like open warfare. We break these people down into groups; we make armies on the basis of the immediate emergency of the moment, or whatever the situation may be. We were given to know that in a revolutionary situation you cannot follow out mechanically any particular plan, only your objective. It is a tense situation. Therefore a party having an organization, with its fingers on everything—every portion of the city and its population, that it can depend on—is prepared to direct all its forces in the way they should be.

Mr. STARNES. Were you taught to concentrate particularly on utilities and munitions plants, or anything to that effect?

Mr. NOWELL. The food supply, the warehouses, the utilities, that is water and lights, gas, and all those things; the communications, that is the railways entering the city, the streetcar service, telephone service, and telegraph; and all those things.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, that is communications. You were talking figuratively a few moments ago when you mentioned "utilities".

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were you given any instructions in sabotage?

Mr. NOWELL. Sabotage; how to wreck trains, at this point closing down factories, facilitating discontent to raise the mob spirit in order to get the men on the go, and various other acts of sabotage, which of course could be attempted on a moment's notice. Also the general method of derailing a train and destroying its cargo. I mean, if it is going to be available for the enemy, just put it full speed ahead when you know there is another train coming head-on, and just step aside.

Mr. STARNES. What about the question of military intelligence, or what we call here spies, espionage? Was any instruction given you in that?

Mr. NOWELL. We were given instruction in code, how to decipher codes, and shown the possibilities of working out our own code, and an elaborate system of securing information that under legal conditions is not unusual. It is the Communist routine of finding out what is the grievance of a man employed in a particular plant, what are his family problems. I mean, what is his level of understanding, what are his weaknesses, what are his strong points, keep up with him, keep a regular history of his activities, his developments, and so on. All this is available for our organizational department, and for the various section and unit organizational work. This is a form of conspiracy, it is a form of spying on people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they give you any instruction with reference to traveling on illegal or false passports?

Mr. NOWELL. They didn't give that openly. That is a problem of the organizational department of the Comintern. They rarely do that, unless one happens to need such a passport.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it was not a part of the general instruction?

Mr. NOWELL. No; it was not a part of the general instruction.

Mr. WHITLEY. They only do that in specific instances where occasion arises when they want to make use of a false passport.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet any other OGPU operatives while you were at the Lenin school? Did you talk with any others?

Mr. NOWELL. Beatrice Siskin, who was associated with Mrs. Browder, the wife of Earl Browder, was also active and connected with the OGPU, and with Mrs. Browder, who received reports from her to our knowledge, and kept check on the discontented students in the school and the general situation in the school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet Mrs. Browder at that time?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was she introduced to you as Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. She was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is she the present Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. I understand she is. I haven't met her since.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was what year?

Mr. NOWELL. This was 1932 that I met Mrs. Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at that time to your personal knowledge she was connected with the OGPU in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know when she came to this country?

Mr. NOWELL. I read that she came in 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. NOWELL. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what her maiden name was?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just met her as Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. I just met her as Mrs. Browder.

Green's report to the Communist International described the ideological confusion which resulted in the CPUSA after the major expulsions of the late twenties. Rank and file comrades who wanted to carry out Kremlin directives did not know exactly how to go about their work. While the CPUSA did not lack for successes insofar as illegal activity was concerned, nevertheless it did remain unhappily isolated from "the masses."<sup>1</sup> The early part of 1933 marked a time of relatively slack tide. Later in that same year, the current began to move more rapidly in the "right" direction. After the Seventh World Congress in 1935, the Red tide mounted toward flood proportions.

Green's real name was Sergi Ivanovich Gusev.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Sen Katayama, John Pepper, and others who had come as "C. I. reps," Gusev was Stalin's first personal agent in the United States. He arrived in 1925—i. e., in the year in which Stalin was busy taking care of the Trotskites at home. Gusev held the rank of major general in the Red Army and also a very high position in the Cheka (see B, exhibit No. 6).<sup>3</sup> It was not his fault that Lovestone, Gitlow, and company backed Bukharin rather than Stalin.<sup>4</sup> After energetically promoting Stalin's directives with regard to the United States, Gusev simply disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> Budenz, *Techniques of Communism*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Cookridge, *Sortet Spy Net*, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Gitlow, *The Whole of Their Lives*, pp. 151-153, 187. Louis Francis Budenz, *Men Without Faces*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1950, pp. 50-52, 68-69.

## EXHIBIT No. 15

[*The Communist International*, September 1, 1933. Pp. 570-574]

## SOME QUESTIONS OF THE WORKS OF THE C.P.U.S.A.

By Green

In the United States the Party is preparing to call a convention after a break of almost three years. This convention takes on exceptional importance in the history of the Party, and therefore it is necessary to devote extremely serious attention to the questions which face the Party.

In spring this year, the Party stated that the chief decisions on the reconstruction of Party work, which were adopted over a year ago, at the XIV Plenum of the C. C., had not been fulfilled. This extremely disturbing fact was noted by the leading organs of the Party as an ordinary matter which could be solved by passing the regular resolution on the "immediate tasks" of the Party. The question arises as to whether it was necessary to call a Plenum to inform it that the resolutions had not been carried out. Can such a situation be permitted that resolutions are not carried out and then new resolutions are adopted so that, maybe, they will also not be carried out.

There was a period when such a situation existed in almost all the Parties of the Communist International. The Parties were young, the Parties had no cadres, had no experience, etc. We had to bear with such a situation, because the Parties were simply incapable of carrying out the resolutions which they themselves passed. But this period has already passed. The Parties have accumulated experience, have thrown out the Right wingers, they have certain new cadres, and finally the entire situation has radically changed. For we must remember that a new revolutionary upsurge has begun to grow. The Parties have a series of successes. More, the C. P. of U. S. A. has achieved a number of successes during the past few years. Further, the main conclusion which can be drawn with regard to the recent years in the existence of the American Communist Party is that, in those places where the Party has seriously fought for any matter, it has obtained enormous successes. Therefore, it is possible to carry out the resolutions. All the objective circumstances go to show this. The entire experience of the international movement and the American movement show that it is possible to carry out the resolutions. And if the Party sees that practically nothing has been done for a whole year to carry out the resolutions, which were prepared with such care and seriousness by the XIV Plenum of the C. I., it must be said that this cannot be blamed on to any objective causes.

Such a situation cannot be tolerated further in the Party. The resolutions are passed to be carried out. They can be carried out, and the development of the revolutionary movement demands that they should be carried out.

On the other hand, the chief resolution of the XVI Plenum of the C. C., which took place in spring this year is distinguished by extreme optimism and suffers from lack of clarity. Firstly, on the question of the masses. The idea is brought forward in it that in all branches,

after a short period of vacillation and backwardness, the Party is becoming the decisive subjective factor in the development of the mass struggle, that:

We, (i. e., the Party) properly and rapidly react to these movements. We are able rapidly to direct these spontaneous movements along a channel determined by us.

Secondly, on the question of deviations. The idea is that at first we should conquer left sectarianism, begin to lead the masses, and only then are we faced with the task of the struggle against right opportunism. Further, it literally says the following: "It is impossible to capitulate to the reformist leaders when we are so far from the masses that we have not even any contacts with them."

Through the whole resolution runs the view that the Party is everywhere hindered by "left" sectarianism, that "left" sectarianism is the chief danger. At the end of the resolution, it is true, is a brief statement that the right danger is the chief danger, but this is a purely formal declaration which contradicts the entire resolution, because the resolution speaks everywhere of "left" sectarianism.

The statement that the Party stands at the head of the masses, that it carries the masses with it, that it can direct them along whatever channel it wishes, gives the Party an incorrect orientation.

Is this self-praise a matter of chance? It is no chance. Such a type of statement is connected with the confused theories on the relationship between spontaneity and consciousness which are current in the U. S. A. The Party's head is turned with its first successes, and all the questions of the relations between the Party and the spontaneous movement are turned upside-down. At the XVI Plenum, Comrade X. spoke. He has an incorrect view of this question. He considers that all the successes of the Party are based on the spontaneous movement. Such a view means to bow to spontaneity. It is not a Bolshevik view.

Some comrades correctly criticised this mistake, but unfortunately they went much too far. They reversed X's. formula, and it worked out that, according to them, the spontaneous movement is nothing and the Party is everything. For example, on the question of the Detroit strike it was stated that: "Without the work of the Party there would never be any strikes." As if there are never spontaneous strikes, as if there are no strikes which are not led by our Party, as if a large number of recent strikes have not proved to be under the leadership of the Musteites and the A. F. of L.

Regarding the farmers' movement, some comrades said: "Without our leadership of the farmers there would not have been such a mass development of the movement among the farmers." This is pure brag.

With regard to the unemployed, there is the statement that the Party formed the unemployed movement, and, that without the Party, there would also not have been the social-fascist unemployed councils.

Of course, it is true that the Party was the initiator of the unemployed movement, but then the Party abandoned this work, and it was precisely this which made it possible for the socialists to get hold of a considerable part of the unemployed.

There is no doubt that without a revolutionary Party leading the masses, the victory of the revolution is impossible. There has not been and could not be a revolution which could conquer without a

revolutionary Party. But what is a revolution? A revolution is a stupendous spontaneous upsurge of mass revolutionary initiative under the leadership of the Party. The Party cannot take the place of mass initiative nor can mass initiative take the place of the revolutionary leadership of the Party. This question must not be confused. Otherwise things are distorted in the opposite direction, and we come to the conclusion that the Party is standing at the head of the masses, when in reality this is not yet the case.

The sectarianism of the C.P. U.S.A. has been spoken of repeatedly, and not so long ago, at the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was confirmed once more that which was said last year in the resolution of the C.C. C.P. U.S.A. regarding the fact that there are still many vestiges of sectarianism in the American Party.

What is sectarianism? Sectarianism is the extreme degree of a deviation, carried to the point of complete or almost complete separation from the masses. As there are two deviations, right and "left," so there can be two kinds of sectarianisms, right and "left." In this article there is no need to explain what is the right deviation. The shortest explanation of what is the right deviation is contained in the word "tailism." The right deviation is when the Party drags at the tail of the masses. And what is right sectarianism? To a great extent, it is tailism. It is breaking away from the tail. It means that the Party does not even drag at the tail of the masses, but far behind the tail, being split away from the masses.

A historic example of right sectarianism was the situation in the C.P. U.S.A. in 1930. After this the Party, from time to time, has caught up with the tail.

What is the "left" deviation? The "left" deviation is when the vanguard rushes ahead, leaping over inevitable stages of development. The clearest historic example is from the 1917 revolution. On April 20th and 21st we had spontaneous actions by the Leningrad workers, sailors and soldiers with the demand to remove the Provisional Government. The Party considered that the time had not come to take power, that the masses were not yet prepared for this. The Party held back the masses from further action in April and on July 3rd and 4th. However, there were some groups in the Party who rushed ahead, particularly Bogdatiev, who organised a squadron of a few armoured cars and attacked along the Nevski Prospect, the main street of Leningrad. Fortunately it was possible to prevent this example spreading, otherwise this action would have played a tremendous provocation rôle. Such is an example of the "left" deviation at a moment of revolutionary upsurge.

And what is "left" sectarianism? "Left" sectarianism is a jump ahead, when the Party or group which is leaping ahead is completely separated from the masses. "Left" sectarianism is the preaching of revolutionary mass actions at a period when the masses are historically asleep. This means the isolated action of the vanguard alone, of the staff of the revolution alone, without any masses. A historic example can be taken again from Russian history. It is known that the years 1909-1910 saw the greatest decline of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The masses completely disappeared from the historic scene. There was only a small number of strikes. And precisely in these years of the greatest decline of mass activity, precisely in these years a group of Bolsheviks bearing the name of "Otzovists"

continued to play about with the slogan of the armed rebellion, organised armed detachments, studied military science, in short, prepared in every way for armed action.

These items of historic information are necessary to disentangle the unclarity which exists in the C. P. U. S. A.

Of what does this unclearness consist? In the fact that they can see only one type of sectarianism, "left" sectarianism; in the fact that they regard all sectarianism as "left" sectarianism, forgetting that right sectarianism exists. Therefore it comes out as if "left" sectarianism, the "left" deviation were the chief danger.

Secondly, in what way does this unclarity on the question of deviations find expression? This is the theory that, in order to make right mistakes, we need to be connected with the masses. This is a very big mistake. In reality, what does such a theory represent? It represents tailism inside out. From this statement it follows that in order to link up with the masses we should choose the right opportunist path, and lower ourselves to the level of the more backward masses, instead of raising them to the level of the foremost workers.

And so, where is the Party anyway? At the head or at the tail of the masses? Have the contacts between the Party and the masses deepened or grown less? The proper reply to this question is that the Party for a number of years has been dragging along somewhere far behind the tail of the movement. During the last couple of years it has more than once caught up with the tail of the movement, and more than once has even stood at the head of various mass actions. At the present time it has been proved, on the basis of the historic experience of the last two or three years that the Party is capable of putting an end completely to right sectarianism, i. e., to put an end to the split from the tail of the movement, so as to liquidate sectarianism completely. Further, as experience shows, once more, the Party can stand at the head of mass actions, but this takes place from time to time, by chance, without plan and in the manner of irregular troops. This is the chief shortcoming of the Party at the present time.

The right danger is still the chief danger in the Party, and in some respects it is even growing, but not at all because the contacts of the Party with the masses have strengthened, but because the contacts of the Party with the masses of the proletariat in recent years have weakened, while the contacts with the non-proletarian masses have strengthened and increased.

Take the basic facts for the last year. We see a weakening in the leadership of economic struggles. We see a weakening of trade union work. We see the insignificant result of concentration, i. e., penetration into the factories. We see the strengthening of the social-fascists in industrial districts. We see a fall in the circulation of the "Daily Worker," the only proletarian paper.

What do these facts show? They show the weakening of the proletarian basis of the Party, the weakening of the contacts of the Party with the workers. On the other hand, we see the not altogether successful leadership of the veterans' movement, but nevertheless some leadership of it. We see the successful organisation of a wide farmers' conference. We see the successful organisation of the anti-War Congress of the American students, who were always extremely far from any revolution, even from the point of view of European students.

Thus, we see the irregularity of the development of the contacts of the Party with the masses. Contacts are undoubtedly increasing, sectarianism is being abolished, though it is far from having been abolished so far, but contacts with the proletarian masses are either weakening in a number of districts or are growing very slowly, while contacts with the nonproletarian masses are increasing rapidly.

The basic facts show us that the situation of the Party in the last two years has changed, and is changing very rapidly. The old danger of sectarianism has not yet been completely eliminated, but it is being eliminated. It has become less. However, we must see the changes which have taken place in the Party, the change which is taking place now. We must see that the Party is passing to a new stage, that in the Party there are arising new dangers which signify a certain increase in the right opportunist danger, but now in a new form. This is the fundamental question.

If we see this process clearly, we can clearly see the chief historic tasks which face the Party. Then we can raise the question of the plan for the further development of the Party, from the point of view of its class buttress, and correctly solve it.

Take the fundamental question in this respect—the question of concentration, the question of the penetration of the Party into the factories. The resolution speaks of it as follows: “This overwhelming weakness of the Party continues to exist in all Party life.” This is put very strongly. Further, dealing specially with concentration work in the decisive sectors, it says the following: The concentration programme is mostly operated only formally and mechanically.” Again it is put very strongly.

But the experience of work in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit, recently in particular, has shown that it is fully possible to penetrate into the big factories, if we really fight seriously for this matter.

It is undoubtedly plain from this fundamental question, the question of forming a basis for the Party in the factories, that the Party has worked very weakly. There was not sufficient clearness in the matter of the construction of the Party.

The general plan of the construction of our Party in every movement and in every complex situation is as follows: Our Party is a Proletarian Party. Why? Because the proletariat constitutes the only class which is consistently revolutionary to the end. All other classes—the poor and middle farmers—vacillate, and will vacillate. Among the proletariat itself, the main section does not consist of farm workers (although of course it is necessary to work among them), but of city workers. Among the city workers, our chief basis does not consist of the unemployed, but of those who work in the factories. Our Party cannot be strong if it is a Party of the unemployed, because our Party must base itself on the workers who are working in the factories. This is the main basis of the Party. Our basis must be the big factories in the fundamental branches of industry in the industrial districts.

In putting the question this way, we gradually arrive at the main basis of the Party, i. e., the big factories in the industrial districts. This is where the main basis of our work lies. It consists of the concentration districts, the concentration factories. Concentration is not one of the branches of Party work, along with other branches. It is the fundamental Party work for the formation of the main basis of the Party in the big factories, in the basic branches of industry.



Everything that has been said of concentration applies also to the trade unions. Any denial of this main organisational and political task is an attempt to turn the Party from its proletarian basis. The history of the Party for the last year and-a-half shows that a plan for the concentration of our forces on the main industrial basis did not exist. The Party spontaneously strives now here, now there. The veterans' movement arises and the Party strains in that direction. The unemployed movement rises and the Party pushes in that direction. The farmers begin to move, and the Party rushes to the farmers. The students began to talk loudly and the Party rushed to the students, held meetings among them, etc. It is, so to speak, without a rudder and without sails. The Party drifts about the revolutionary ocean, now here, now there, now forwards, now backwards, now to the workers, now to the unemployed, the intellectuals, the students, the farmers, etc. Why? Because the Party has no firm plan.

What was the task of the Party towards the mass movement? Without question the Party should stand at the head of all mass actions. It must never strive to narrow down mass actions. But when taking on itself the leadership of all mass actions, including those of the farmers, the Party must firmly carry on, among this complex network of actions, the plan for building up a proletarian basis in the factories, and must always see this as its chief aim. We must go to the farmers, veterans, unemployed and students. We must everywhere take the leadership on ourselves, but we must remember that the wider the movement of the farmers and other non-proletarian circles, the more necessary it is for the Party to take the leadership of this movement on itself so as to carry out the hegemony of the proletariat, the more consistently and energetically must we carry on concentration work, the enlargement and strengthening of the proletarian basis of the Party. It is precisely the absence of the enlargement of the proletarian basis which will be the chief obstacle for the Party in leading the entire non-proletarian movement.

We must take a critical attitude to a formal and purely external contradiction. It would seem to follow that if the Party devotes its greatest forces to concentration it will not have forces for the farmers' movement. In reality there is no such contradiction, and such a contradiction could only play a secondary rôle and could only have a temporary character. We must base ourselves on the fact that to correspond with the importance of the task we must distribute our forces in a planned manner so as to supply forces everywhere, but in a planned manner and proportionally to the tasks which face the Party. First of all, of course, we must supply forces for concentration. It may be objected to this, that the Party has sent its forces and nothing came of it. But if nothing came of this, it means that the people sent were not those who should be sent, it means that they did not act as they should have acted, it means that the comrades were improperly instructed as to what to do, that we gave unclear instructions on concentration to them when they set out. Thus, a planned distribution of forces *corresponding to the importance of the tasks* is the first and basic factor which must be kept in mind in the work.

Secondly, it is necessary to *select the main link* and not scatter our efforts, not fritter away our forces, not seize on tasks which the Party in any case cannot carry out. This can be explained by a few

examples. We cannot organise *everything* because if we could organise *everything*—both the farmers and all the unemployed and all the workers and the homeless and the students, etc.—we could make a revolution to-day, while we cannot even organise all the workers capable of being organised, we are not able to do this, and therefore our enemies organise some of the workers. This is inevitable, just as it is inevitable that the first lessons of political science, the first lessons of political organisation, are received by the workers from the bourgeoisie, just as the first lessons in the handling of arms are obtained by the workers from counter-revolutionary officers.

Therefore, we must clearly see that what we can do and what we cannot do. We must not take hold of tasks which we cannot carry out, we must not scatter our efforts; leave something to the bourgeoisie, let them prepare something for us.

From the question of the planned distribution of forces of the Party and the work in the concentration districts, the following most important task arises: The promotion of new forces, the renewing of the Party cadres. In this sphere matters are in a very bad state. At the Plenum it was stated:

“The leadership in the districts which took part to a greater or less extent in local struggles has not grown up and has not arisen from these struggles, and to a great extent consists of newcomers.”

Besides this the leading cadres are functionaries who have long since been separated from industry.

The question of cadres is not a technical question. It is part of the big political plan of the construction of our Party which the Party laid down as early as the XIV Plenum of the C. C.

In every Party which is struggling and growing in the struggle, Party cadres are manufactured who become the basic support of the Party. Therefore, in a revolutionary Party which is growing and developing, which is moving ahead, we can only welcome the fact that in the leading organs the same steeled Party cadres who are still becoming more steeled keep in their places for years, sometimes for tens of years. In Parties which have been marking time in one spot for a number of years, which suffer from insufficiency of principle and the heritage of factional struggles, which suffer from the weak development of inner-Party democracy, i. e., the failure to attract all the members of the Party into the discussion of the political questions of the everyday struggle, in Parties which are not moving ahead, the failure to change cadres, or even changes on a small scale may become a hindrance to further development. Without a policy of bringing fresh blood into the leadership and filling the cadres from among the new activists who are separated out in the current struggles, such a Party cannot turn into a genuine mass Party. Until the American workers themselves take in their hands the matter of the further development and strengthening of the Communist Party, until the Party has its fundamental basis of native American workers and is filled with native American cadres, the Party will not be able to become a real mass Party, leading the revolutionary struggles of the American proletariat and the American toiling masses. Therefore, the question of new cadres in the American Party, along with the question of concentration, is a radical question for the further development of the Party. In the preparation of cadres the Party must have its own political “Five-Year Plan” if it may be so expressed.

The best solution would be to concentrate the work for the selection of cadres on the big factories in the concentration districts. This does not mean that capable workers will not be secured from the other branches of industry, and also students, craftsmen or farmers. The basic Party cadres must nevertheless be cadres which come from the big factories. For in spite of the fact that fifteen years have elapsed since the U. S. S. R. carried out its revolution, the basic cadres of the C. P. S. U. still consist of metal workers. These are the people who created and built up the Party and led it. Therefore, it is necessary to concentrate the forces of the C. P. U. S. A. on the concentration districts with the aim of the maximum recruiting of cadres there. There the Party must carry on a most determined policy of drawing the workers into the leadership, not being abashed by the fact that sometimes, or even in the majority of cases, they are politically untrained. Preparing them in the process of Party work, we shall be able to train them politically also.

On the question of the recruiting of new members, it should also be said that here we have also a burden of old views which hinder the Party in making a correct approach to this question. In the Party there are views explaining fluctuations by the fact that the new Party members are overloaded by all kinds of Party duties. Therefore they leave the Party. In this general form, this statement has become antiquated. It was true in respect to the period when there were no mass struggles, when in reality the kind of workers who did not want to be overloaded came into the Party. Now workers are coming into the Party who want to find a reply to a series of burning questions. In this respect what we should fear is not giving them too much work, but too little. It is ridiculous to talk about overloading Party members at a time when the Party members are thirsting to get the reply to a number of the most important questions. They do not find the reply to these questions, and therefore they leave the Party.

In this respect the Party must work out a whole series of practical questions which cannot be included in a single article.

We must attach the greatest positive importance to the successes of the Party, but these successes have no significance in themselves. In themselves they are too insignificant compared with the stupendous scale of the tasks which face the Party. All these successes are of enormous importance as a proof of the possibility of bringing about a great growth of the Party, if the Party really undertakes the work. The whole Party, all the Party members, must know exactly what is the real condition of the organisation, what are its real forces, what are the tasks set before it by history, where its main forces are directed, according to what clear and exact plan the whole Party must work from top to bottom so as to become a real mass Party, the real Bolshevik Party of the American proletariat. If this is done, if the Party becomes acquainted with the documents which the convention works out and begins to carry them out attentively and carefully, if the whole Party and all its members begin to participate actively and consciously in the planned construction of the Party, there is reason to state that it will be prepared for the mass revolutionary fights of the American proletariat, which face it in the very near future.

Once again the Comintern held out the prospect of trade with Russia as a principal reason for American recognition of the Soviet Union (this section, exhibit No. 4). After 23 years of experience with a recognized U. S. S. R., we are now in a much better position to evaluate the merits of any Soviet promise. From the very outset, the Soviet Union violated the pledges which it had given to President Roosevelt in 1933 (sec. D, exhibit No. 39).

## EXHIBIT No. 16

[*Inprecorr.*, December 1, 1933. Pps. 1166-1167]

## AMERICAN RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

By Gore Graham

For sixteen years the American governments have refused to have any diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Each government in turn has refused *on principle* to "recognise" the workers' republic. But the Big Crash and the continued world crisis has had its effect. The struggle of American imperialism against the other imperialist states, Japan and the European powers, has driven American diplomacy into becoming more *real*. The pressing reasons are diplomatic and economic. American capitalists have full cause to be aware of the trade possibilities with the developing U. S. S. R. In both the struggle against the European powers and against Japan the continuance of an inflexible policy of antagonism towards the Soviet Union is a gratuitous limitation of the weapons in the American armoury.

It has been recognised that the bargaining powers of American diplomacy, the strength of its front against the European powers and Japan can be considerably increased when a realistic foreign policy towards the Soviet Sixth of the earth's surface is adopted. The press bears testimony to this in the repeated reports that are now appearing on the subject of the struggle between Japan and America as affected by the Soviet-American reproachment; although naturally these reports are again nourishing the familiar slander of the Soviet peace policy by giving the impression that it is a question of an *alliance* between America and U. S. S. R. which Roosevelt and Litvinov are discussing.

The refusals to recognise the Soviet Republic were explained as being based on a theoretical objection to Bolshevism. According to the statement of *Colby*, Secretary of State, the American government recoiled from the recognition of the Bolshevik regime and the dismemberment of Russia. Beginning with *President Wilson* and continued by the administrations of Presidents *Harding*, *Coolidge* and *Hoover*, the refusal to recognise the Soviet Union has been because, in the words of *Sir Harry Armstrong*, a bitter opponent of recognition, they have "patriotically put their country, its dignity, the integrity of its institutions, its peace and security *above all other considerations*."

This attitude has been continued for sixteen years, and long after the stability of the Soviet Republic was an obvious fact these "theoretical" justifications for refusal of recognition have been repeated ad absurdum.

Before the advent of the world economic crisis, and the general sharpening of the foreign political situation American capitalism could afford to allow this attitude to prevail. America had hardly

any capital investments in pre-war Russia and the debts that are claimed are debts incurred during the war and by the Kerensky government. It is true, also the American private creditors have not been, by any means, so well organised and homogeneous as the same people in other imperialist countries. Nevertheless, the opposition in America to any contact with the workers' republic has been particularly vociferous and persistent.

The form in which it has been expressed is given by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York at its monthly meeting in April, when in almost the same words as those used by Coolidge in his message to the Congress in December, 1923, it declared that recognition should be granted—

whenever there appears any disposition to compensate our citizens who were despoiled and to recognise that debt contracted by our government not by the Czar but by the newly formed republic of Russia, *whenever the active spirit of enmity to our institutions is abated* (which latter can mean as long as the workers' republic exists).

In the same month (April) a mass meeting was held in *Washington* under the auspices of the American Legion to protest against any recognition of the Soviet Union. At this meeting one of the principal speakers was *William Green*, President of the American Federation of Labour, long notorious as a rabid anti-Soviet individual. Among his reasons for the American refusal to recognise the Soviet Union, Green gave the following:—

Labour holds that the preservation of the principles of self-government, the right to live unmolested, without the threat and menace of world revolutions, is of greater value than the creation of material wealth or the enjoyment of profits gained through the sale of foods to a foreign nation.

It is, naturally, not only in the U. S. A. that influences have been at work attempting to prevent any change in the American attitude towards the Soviet Union. Apart from the diplomatic intrigues, there have been campaigns waged against American recognition in other countries. There has for years been what *Senator Borah* called a whispering campaign conducted by the British in the U. S. A. Actually, on innumerable occasions, the British imperialists have shown very clearly their opposition to American recognition of the U. S. S. R. and have not hidden their anxiety to prevent it. When the great well of anti-Soviet feeling was being pumped up in England this year at the time of the Moscow Trial and the Embargo, the responsible organs of British imperialism did not conceal a satisfaction (rather premature) that the whole affair would have a retarding effect on the movement towards American recognition. For instance, the "*Daily Telegraph*" Washington correspondent wrote (April 17) that:

The Moscow trial is being followed with profound interest in the United States . . . Russia's case for recognition would be irretrievably damaged if America became convinced that Russia had countenanced methods of duress. . . .

The "*Times*," indeed admitted in a leading article that the Moscow trial would now make America think twice before recognising the Soviet Union.

But beginning with Roosevelt's departure from previous custom in including the Soviet Union in the list of countries to whom he addressed his peace offer last May, the British imperialists have had one disappointment after another. And it has been particularly

amusing to watch the antics of the responsible London "*Times*" over this question. It kept a painful silence about Litvinov's success at the Economic Conference. It repeatedly gave prominence to contributions from bitter anti-Soviet writers pleading for a continuance of the American non-recognition policy. But when the invitation was sent by the American government to Litvinov and American recognition of the Soviet Union was obviously imminent, it published a leading article faintly praising this recognition as the only reasonable course to pursue!

The force of present-day reality has compelled the American government to throw aside an anti-Soviet policy which had become no longer tolerable in view of the difficult conditions in which American capitalism finds itself.

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Browder's 1933 report to the ECCI presented the official Communist version of the first months of Roosevelt's New Deal. In the spirit of the ultra left third (1928-34) period of Comintern strategy, New Deal "partial reforms" were savagely condemned. While the world Communist movement has always aimed at the destruction of the capitalist system, it has at various times postponed the inevitable final conflict.

Such was definitely not the program for 1933 and early 1934. In a chapter entitled "The Revolutionary Overthrow of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," M. J. Olgin advocated direct, violent action against government officials:

"Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal governmental offices, invade the residences of the President and his Cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers.

\* \* \* \* \*

"A standard reformist argument against the revolution is: 'The weapons of warfare are so strong in our days that the workers have no chance of winning any open conflict.' The wish is father to the thought of the reformists in this respect. Because they hate a revolution of the workers, they maintain that a revolution cannot win. What is true is that a revolution cannot win unless the armed forces, or at least part of them, join the workers. But once they join, the workers have not only rifles and cannon but also airships and poison gas and battleships to fight the bosses. Poison gasses are destructive, to be sure, but their destructive power can be turned also against the old system. There is no reason why the workers should not use them against the enemy when a final conflict has arrived."<sup>1</sup>

The 1935 revision of Olgin's pamphlet omitted the paragraph demanding the seizure of government officials.

As late as 1955 William Z. Foster, official "historian" of the CPUSA, took evident pleasure in drawing a parallel between the rise of Hitler and the inauguration of President Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 17

[*The Communist International*, January 15, 1934. Pp. 75-80]

### SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(*Speech of EARL BROWDER at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.*)

The situation of the United States confirms most strikingly the correctness of the draft thesis before us, when it speaks of "the tremendous strain of the internal antagonism . . . as well as of the international antagonisms". The policies of the Roosevelt adminis-

<sup>1</sup> M. J. Olgin, *Why Communism? Plain Talks on Vital Problems*, New York, Workers Library Publishers, December 1933, pp. 76, 77. Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 73d Cong., 2d sess., December 29, 1934, pp. 256-257.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 293-295; *Three Internationals*, pp. 377-379.

tration, known as the "New Deal", called into being by the crisis and by these "tremendous strains", have by no means softened these strains and antagonisms, but on the contrary have intensified them. Precisely the period of the Roosevelt regime has marked not alone the sharpening of the international relations of the U. S., but also the internal class relations.

Roosevelt's policy called for "national concentration" and "class peace". But in spite of the apparent surface successes of his regime, even the "honeymoon period" of the New Deal has been marked by rising mass struggles, by great class battles, by a radicalization of large sections of all the toiling masses of the population. The protracted strikes of 70,000 or more miners in Pennsylvania, Utah and New Mexico; the long strike of 60,000 silk workers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the many strikes of steel workers, penetrating into the heart of the steel industry around Pittsburgh; and the hundreds of smaller strikes, in almost all industries and regions, increasing in numbers and intensity from March to October—all disclose the hollowness of the "civil peace" of the Roosevelt New Deal, resulting from the fact that N. R. A. while promising wage increases, actually made a general wage-cut of exceptional severity. The mass struggles of the bankrupted farmers, quieted for a few months by the promises of the Agricultural Act and a moratorium on debt foreclosures, are breaking out again on a large scale and with full sharpness with the disclosures that the Roosevelt "allotment plan" has failed to meet a single one of the problems faced by the poor farmers. Even the middle classes are stirring with unrest, under the pressure of continued expropriations carried out by the closing of many hundreds of small banks, by the rapid progress of trustification in all lines, and by wholesale inflation. Never before in modern times has the "strain of internal class antagonisms" in the U. S. been so sharp and so general.

Characteristic for the whole system of policies known as the New Deal is their nature as preparations for war. The economic contents of these measures are those of war economy. The famous three-billion-dollar building program turns out in reality to be a program of Navy building, mechanization of the Army, building of military roads, and the putting into operation of the Muscle Shoals explosive plant abandoned at the close of the World War. The "unemployment relief" program turns out to be first of all the setting up of a network of military training camps, under the direction of the War Department, where 300,000 young men are being prepared for the Army. The *National Recovery Administration* follows the pattern laid down by the War Industries Board of the World War. Never before has there been such gigantic war preparations at a time when the "enemy" is as yet unnamed. Simultaneously, U. S. oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies takes on sharper forms, as the resistance of the colonial masses grows; witness the fifty million dollars loan to Chiang Kai-shek to finance the anti-Soviet campaign, the naval concentration in Latin-American waters, and especially in Cuba, where the anti-imperialist revolution has already partially broken through the chain of American imperialist puppet-governments.

If we witness all these developments during what may be called the "honeymoon" period of the Roosevelt regime, when the illusions created by an unprecedented demagoguery were bolstered up for a time

by a rapid rise in production stimulated by an enormous speculative market (the flight from the dollar)—then we have every reason to expect the growth and intensification of class conflicts, and of all the contradictions of capitalism, now when the Roosevelt program has already exposed its inability to improve the condition of the masses, when production again declines precipitately, when rising prices and inflation cut further sharply into the living standards of the masses, and when demagoguery is rapidly being reinforced with a sharp development of fascist ideology and terror directed against the struggling masses.

International social-fascism has hailed the Roosevelt policies as "steps in the direction of socialism". The British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress have adopted the Roosevelt program as their own, demanding that it be imitated in Britain. In this way they are but continuing, in the period of crisis, that complete ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie which, during the period of American prosperity created out of the figure of Henry Ford the reformist "Saviour". The American Socialist Party has not lagged behind in this respect; Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit hastened to pay a public visit to Roosevelt, upon his assumption of office, to congratulate him upon his policies, which they hailed as nothing less than a "revolution" in the interests of the masses.

But the fascist direction in which the Roosevelt policies are carrying the U. S. is becoming clear to the whole world. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the efforts to merge the reformist American Federation of Labor into the machinery of government, under the avowed banner of the fascist conception of the "corporate state", prohibition of strikes, compulsory arbitration, governmental fixing of wages, and even control of the inner life of the trade unions. For the edification of the masses this was spoken of as a "partnership of capital and labor, together with the government". Under this program the A. F. of L. is given governmental support and even financial assistance, and a determined effort is made to control and eventually choke off the strike movement, by driving the workers into the A. F. of L. where it is hoped the official leadership will be able to bring the masses under control.

#### THE A. F. OF L. AND THE T. U. U. L.

During 1933 over a million workers have engaged in strikes. From six to eight hundred thousand workers have come into the various trade unions; of these; between four and six hundred thousand were recruited into the A. F. of L., about one hundred thousand into the Red Trade Unions of the Trade Union Unity League, and one hundred thousand into newly formed independent unions opposed to the A. F. of L. but not yet prepared to enter the Red Trade Unions.

Of outstanding importance to us is the fact that the A. F. of L. has grown by about a half million members, placing very sharply before us the urgent task of organizing a mass revolutionary opposition and overcoming all hesitations in our ranks towards this work. This growth has resulted from the mass illusions built up around the N. R. A. from the direct support of the Government, which looks upon the A. F. of L. as its main support within the working class. The A. F. of L. was able to capitalize these illusions and the mass faith in Roosevelt. It must be said, however, that the bourgeoisie



has been disappointed by the performance of the A. F. of L., which could not control the masses nor prevent the strike movement, nor recruit such masses as was expected of them.

The comparative failure of the A. F. of L. to recruit the great masses or control the strike movement arises from a number of factors; first, not all capitalists accepted the government policy, and especially in the basic industries most employers preferred to establish "company unions" instead of the A. F. of L. or even to continue to refuse to have any kind of union at all in their plants. Second, the crude and open strike-breaking policy of the A. F. of L. repelled large numbers of workers ready to join but disillusioned by their first contacts. Third, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which is of tremendous size, with 15,000 full time paid officials, has, to a great extent, become so parasitically corrupted and degenerated by their past life, that it is incapable of the energetic activity demanded by a mass recruitment campaign, to the great disgust of the more virile leaders in the Roosevelt administration. And fourthly, the A. F. of L. unions have, in many places, been captured by the underworld gangs, turned into typical American "rackets", dealing in blackmail and bribery on a huge scale, and become incapable of conducting mass policy on the scale contemplated in the Roosevelt program; it is interesting to read, for example, the complaints in the stenograms of the last A. F. of L. Convention, voiced by the leader of the Chicago teamster's union, who revealed that his union office must be fortified with steel plate and constantly protected by armed guards to prevent the dues payments from being seized by underworld gangs and even to prevent these gangs from taking possession of union elections and assuming the union offices. Revolt among the two and a half million members of the A. F. of L. against these primitive, semi-feudal conditions, not to speak of the more complicated betrayal of the no-strike policy and the New Deal, has been stimulated by the rising wave of mass struggles, and by the influx of the half million new members. This, combined with the beginnings of more systematic and energetic work by the Communists inside the reformists unions, has played a great role in the development of the strike movement among the A. F. of L. workers, and begins to crystallize again into a broad revolutionary opposition movement. This becomes even more important when we see the determined policy of the bourgeoisie to bring forward the A. F. of L. especially in every case where the workers are mobilized in struggle and organized into the Red trade unions.

The growth in the trade unions, and in the strike movement, after four years of decline during the first years of the crisis, is of tremendous significance to our Party. This is all the more true, when we see the character of the strike movement. With only a few exceptions, these strikes were directed not only against the employers for economic demands; they were also strikes against the official leaders of the American Federation of Labor, they were against the operations of the N. R. A. and the Labor Boards set up by the Government—that is, they were also political strikes. This was true of almost all the strikes, whether of A. F. of L. members, of the Red unions, or of the independent unions. From this situation it followed that, when our Party (after some hesitations) began boldly to develop work inside the A. F. of L. as oppositions in combination with the independent building of the Red unions, even in the same industries and fields, and also to build independent unions where the

workers hesitated to join the Red unions, our Communist and sympathizing forces played a constantly growing role in the whole strike movement. Thus it is that we have 45 per cent of all strikers (during 10 months of 1933) members of the A. F. of L. but fighting in opposition to their officials and the government, and to a growing extent openly following the lead of the Red unions, even while remaining in the A. F. of L.

#### THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND THE RED TRADE UNIONS

Very significant also is the comparatively large role played in the strike movement directly by the small Red unions. With about 40,000 members at the beginning of July, they rose in membership to 70,000 by September, and now stand at approximately 125,000, having recruited about 100,000 and having lost about 15,000 during the same period. The Red unions are thus about 5 per cent of the volume of membership of the A. F. of L. But these small unions directly led 20 percent of all strikers, and indirectly influenced in a decisive manner more than half the struggles of the A. F. of L. members and the independent unions.

During the strike movement, conditions often changed very quickly, making necessary quick changes of tactics on our part. At first we were very slow in recognizing the changed situation and adjusting our tactics. Thus in the Pennsylvania mine fields, our Red miners union led the strike struggles of April and May directly, but after the establishment of the N. R. A., the reformist United Mine Workers Union (A. F. of L.) swept through the field with a broad recruitment campaign, and our Red union members (without even consulting us) went along with the masses, and together with them organized the strike movement of July and thereafter through the local unions of the U. M. W. A. We were slow in reorientating ourselves to work mainly through the reformist union, and therefore were weakened quite seriously for a period, and we are only now beginning to re-establish our forces organizationally in that field. During the same period, the coalfields of Utah and New Mexico were completely organized in our Red Miners' Union, which led long strikes, holding the miners solidly in the face of military rule and the jailing of most of our leaders. Even in these fields, however, we were also forced to maneuver, as for example in Utah; there, the protracted strike and military persecution caused some of these new and untrained forces to weaken and hesitate and to consider the possibility of settling the strike by joining the reformist U. M. W. A. Just as we left America it became necessary to give directives to our Utah comrades, that if a split of the miners became a serious threat, we should avoid this by taking the entire body of miners unitedly over from the Red union into the reformist U. M. W. A.

The silk textile strike furnished most interesting and valuable experiences, in a different form. In the beginning, the workers were also entirely unorganized. The strike began in Paterson, New Jersey, called by local leaders of the A. F. of L. as a means of organization with expectations of a quick return to work and settlement through arbitration of the N. R. A. Both the A. F. of L. and the Red textile union began with only a few hundred members. The employers threw in their influence to drive the workers into the A. F. of L. telling the workers that only the A. F. of L. could ever gain a settle-

ment with them. As a result, the workers in their large majority joined the A. F. of L.; among them was a considerable sympathy for the Red unions, but they lacked confidence that they could win a favorable settlement, while they were influenced by the illusions that the A. F. of L., through its support by the Government and bourgeois press, created for them more favorable conditions. We maintained our Red union throughout the strike, however, even though a minority, and fought for unification of the strike committees and picket lines. The open efforts of the A. F. of L. leaders to sell out the strike, repeated several times, were each time defeated by almost unanimous votes of all workers, in each case under the leadership of the small Red union. The result was that the influence of our Red union continued to grow in the ranks of the A. F. of L., who more and more looked to the Red union for a lead on all questions, even though they remained formally within the A. F. of L. This influence became so decisive that when a large mass delegation was elected to go to Washington, to place the demands of the strikers before the National Labor Board, even the A. F. of L. leaders were forced to accept Ann Burlak and John Ballam, the two main leaders of the small Red union, as the leaders and spokesmen of the mass delegation, while the bourgeois press and employers openly declared that it was impossible to settle the strike unless they dealt with the Red union at the same time. The A. F. of L. leaders were forced by the workers to discontinue their attacks upon the leaders of the Red union, and at the most decisive meeting the workers drove their leaders off the platform and invited our comrades to speak to them. These events were a revelation of the tremendous possibilities of a correct application of the united front tactic in strike struggles; they also showed how work within the A. F. of L. can be combined with building the Red unions, and can be strengthened thereby, provided a correct united front policy is carried out.

Since June, all trade union questions have been dominated by the questions of policy regarding the N. R. A. For a time we had to conduct a sharp struggle within the Party on two fronts, against the tendency represented by the idea of "boycotting" the N. R. A. and against the tendency to surrender to the illusions concerning the N. R. A., to drag at the tail of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party. The latter, the open Right opportunist tendency, was the most serious and the most stubborn. Comrade Kuusinen has already in his report mention a few of the most crass examples. Some comrades were convinced that we would succeed in organizing mass unions only if we make them look before the workers as much like A. F. of L. unions as possible, in name, program and daily policy. Our fight to liquidate this tendency was helped considerably by the fact that as quickly as our comrades built unions in this fashion, they were immediately taken over by the reformist leaders, our people were kicked out of them without even any serious support among the workers.

Our Party and the Red unions came out openly and boldly against the N. R. A., and exposed it as a general attack against the workers' standards, and as a movement toward fascism. In this we had to go sharply against the stream of mass illusions that had been aroused by the Roosevelt demagoguery. These illusions were bolstered up for a few months by the rise in production, the opening of more factories,

the appearance of "returning prosperity" brought about by the speculative market created for a time by inflation. When this speculative production broke down, when the factories began to close again, when it began to be clear that the N. R. A. itself had cut wages instead of raising them, the disillusionment of the workers which set in, greatly increased the prestige of our Party and the Red trade unions which had from the beginning told the workers what they now see to be the truth.

#### THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

Our work to build a broad united front of struggle against the N. R. A. led to the calling of the Cleveland Conference in August. This was called jointly by the Red unions, the Muste group of "Left" reformists, and a few independent union leaders and various unemployed organizations. This conference was very valuable to us, although it failed to build a real broad united front. The great body of the conference was composed of our own forces; besides ourselves and close sympathizers, only a small group of Muste leaders came. For us the conference was valuable, however, in that it was a good mobilization of our own forces for struggle against the N. R. A.; it was a broad school in the tactics and policies of the struggle; it was a public proclamation of our program; and it was a rehearsal for our forces in the problems of building the united front. With those Muste leaders who came, we had agreement on the most important questions of policy so long as it was writing general programs, against the N. R. A., for unification of the unemployment movement, etc. But we quickly came into conflict with them on the question of organizing the strike struggles in the steel industry, where the Red steel workers' union was already leading and winning strikes. This question already was too close and burning for the Muste group to commit itself to revolutionary responsibilities; we had an open clash with them in the Conference which cleared the air greatly, and educated our movement better than a hundred resolutions could have done.

#### THE ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

Our most successful application of the united front has been in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. We led a highly successful U. S. Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country, and unanimously adopted a manifesto and program which is politically satisfactory. The composition of the Congress was overwhelmingly proletarian with a core of 450 trade union and shop delegates; it contained a very satisfactory youth delegation of about 500, a majority from reformist and socialist organizations, which in a special meeting openly accepted the leadership of the Y. C. L. in the Congress; a considerable delegation of farmers; representation from every important pacifist organization in the country; a group of local organizations of the Socialist Party and mass organizations under its influence; and a few important A. F. of L. trade unions with about 100,000 members. We also had a delegate from the U. S. Army. The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly but without in any way infringing upon its broad non-Party character, with the Party members at all

times in a minority numerically, and leading by the quality of their work. This success was, of course, largely due to the very favorable situation, and the position of our Party as almost a monopolist of anti-war movement in the U. S. After the Congress a broad mass campaign has been launched to popularize its results, a campaign which has been highly successful, greatly helped throughout by the assistance of Henri Barbusse and Tom Mann, from France and England, whose presence added force and political significance to the Congress and the mass campaign carried on afterwards to popularize its work. The Congress set up a permanent organization on a federative basis, called the American League Against War and Fascism, which is publishing a popular monthly paper.

Our campaign of solidarity with the German working class and against German fascism has been growing and involving new circles of workers. The American workers have been filled with enthusiasm by the magnificent defense, or rather counter-offensive, of the Communists in the Leipzig trial led by Comrade Dimitroff.

Especially effective for the U. S. A. was our exposure of the work of the Nazi organization in the United States, which was even taken up by bourgeois organizations and resulted in a criminal indictment of the Nazi leader in America, Heinz Spanknoebel, and his disappearance into hiding. We secured and published a secret Nazi letter, written from New York to Berlin, a document which has been placed in the records of New York City, and now in the last days before a Committee of the Congress of the United States, with expert testimony which substantiates its genuineness. The character of this document is so sensational that I understand there has been some hesitation in publishing and using it in Europe. I can assure you that the document is genuine. It is a letter written by W. Haag, adjutant to H. Spanknoebel, leader of the Nazi organization in the U. S., addressed on September 23 to "Uschle Berlin Alexanderplatz". The letter contains the following paragraph which I read:

I cannot find a place for Van Der Lubbe here, it is best if you throw him overboard into the ocean while enroute to another country. Whom do you intend to hang in his place in Germany? I agree with you entirely that it would be good to give the damned Communists in Leipzig an injection of syphilis. Then it can be said that Communism comes from syphilis of the brain.

The leading Nazi committee in New York held a special meeting, with one of their important American friends, Congressman Hamilton Fish (a leading enemy of the Soviet Union) and discussed the question whether they should not bring a court action against the *Daily Worker* for publishing this letter. Unfortunately they finally decided against bringing suit against the *Daily Worker*, evidently understanding that we would be able to establish its genuineness. After two months the document is now accepted as genuine by the bourgeoisie press of America, but they consistently refuse to publish the paragraph about Van der Lubbe, which I have quoted above, and confine themselves to the other parts of the letter which show the Nazi violation of American immigration laws, and the organizing of anti-semitic agitation in America.

#### WORK AMONG THE FARMERS

Our Party work among the farmers, leading their mass struggles and raising their political understanding, has improved in the past period. We now stand at the head of a growing mass movement,

which marches under the chief slogan of cancellation of debts and back taxes, and which actively fights against the dispossession of the bankrupt farmers, and which establishes the closest unity with the city workers, employed and unemployed. This farmers' movement has just concluded its second national conference, with 660 delegates from 40, out of the total 48 states of the United States of America.

#### THE INNER SITUATION OF THE PARTY

A few words about the inner situation and growth of our Party. The Party leadership is fully united in carrying into effect the Open Letter, expressing the policy of the C. I., which was adopted at our Extraordinary Party Conference in July. The efforts of the Party to concentrate on the basic industries has given us the beginning of a growing trade union movement in almost every district. About a hundred new shop nuclei have been formed in the past five months, of which two-thirds are in the concentration industries; the proportion of Party membership in the shop nuclei has been raised from 4 per cent to 9 per cent. The Party membership which in 1932 rose from 12,000 to 18,000 dues payments per week, with 21,000 members registered in March, 1933, remained at about the same level until September when it began to rise again after the question had been sharply raised in the Party, and at the present moment the dues payments have risen to more than 20,000 per week, with more than 25,000 registered members. Our *Daily Worker* has broken out of its stagnation, improved its contents, and begun to grow in circulation selling 45,000 copies daily in October, with 100,000 on Saturdays when the paper get out a special edition. Our eight other daily newspapers in various languages have all registered some improvement politically and some growth of circulation, and the same can be said for most (although not all) of our eighteen foreign language weekly newspapers.

Our Party has made certain beginnings in carrying into effect the Open Letter, in becoming a mass Bolshevik Party. The beginnings have been uneven, and are not yet consolidated. The Party still lags far behind the objective possibilities. The danger of right opportunism, especially opportunism in practice, still shows itself in our work, and requires a constant struggle, a constant education of the new Party members and especially of the new cadres that are gradually being built up. Examples of "Left" opportunism, also, are often seen.

The last C. C. meeting of our Party stated, the immediate most pressing tasks of the Party as follows:

"Special emphasis must be laid upon the daily tasks of every Party unit, fraction and committee to (a) recruit immediately into the Party the broad surrounding circle of supporters and especially the most active fighters in the struggles now going on; (b) a real drive to establish mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* as an indispensable weapon of all struggles of the working class; to consolidate the improvements already made and to strengthen the *Daily Worker* as an agitator and organizer, and as an instrument to carry out the Open Letter; (c) build the revolutionary trade unions and opposition in the reformist unions, develop them as the real leaders of the growing struggles, paying special attention to the masses newly recruited into the A. F. of L., prepare for the coming convention of the T. U. U. L., clarify the role of the Communists and the Party

fraction in the trade unions; (d) give serious attention to carrying out the Party decisions on building a mass youth movement and Y. C. L.; (e) develop and extend the mass movement of the unemployed, build the Unemployed Councils as the leading fighters for one united unemployed movement, and develop a broad mass campaign for unemployment insurance; (f) strengthen the work among the unions, unemployed councils, share-croppers' union, etc., and organize a broad national liberation movement in the L. S. N. R.; (g) more serious extension of the Party among the farmers, leadership and support Negroes, especially for winning them into the trade to their struggles, and practical assistance to the successful carrying out of the Second National Conference of the Farmers' Committee of Action; (h) to extend activities among working class women and draw them into struggle against the N. R. A. in factories, among unemployed and against the increased cost of living; (i) build the united front movement against war and fascism on the broadest basis."

The weakest point in all our Party mass work, from which most of our other shortcomings spring, is the weakness in bringing forward the revolutionary goal of our Party, the program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The deepening crisis, the growing misery of the masses, forces the workers to look for a way out. They want a leadership which can connect their daily problems with a wider perspective, with a possibility of final solution of their problems, with a program of building a new workers' state. They more and more realize that such a new society is being built in the Soviet Union. This opens their minds to what the Communist Party has to say to them. They want the Communist Party in their own country to give them the answers to all their questions, the question of power, the question of building the new society under American conditions, as well as the problems of the trade union and unemployed struggles. As we learn how to fulfill these demands of the American workers, we are succeeding, and we will more and more succeed, to build a mass movement of struggle around the Communist Party, building solid cadres which are more and more bolshevized, which will place on the order of the day in America, perhaps not as the last capitalist country in the world, the question of Soviet power, of proletarian revolution.

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J. Peters was one of the most important Kremlin representatives to enter the United States. In reply to one of the few questions on which he did not take the fifth amendment, Peters declared that Hungary had been his birthplace.<sup>1</sup> At the time of his testimony he used the name of Alexander Stevens. But he also had many aliases.<sup>2</sup>

Peters engaged in espionage, both atomic and other.<sup>3</sup> From well established cells in the Federal Government and in Hollywood, he collected enough revenue to save Moscow the cost of his upkeep.<sup>4</sup> Alger Hiss was one of his proteges.

The following selections from his *Manual on Organization* emphatically reaffirm the dependence of the CPUSA upon the Communist International. Its preface was written by Jack Stachel, who often served as the recipient of the most official Moscow directives.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States*. Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Cong., 2d sess., August 30, 1948, pp. 1267-1277.

<sup>2</sup> Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities, January 20, 1955, p. 665.

<sup>3</sup> Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 390, 412-413.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, *Witness*, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Francis Budenz, *This Is My Story*, New York, Whitteley House, 1947, pp. 188-189.

## EXHIBIT No. 18.

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, July 1935. J. Peters, *The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization*. Pp. 3-10, 16-17, 23-28, 33-44, 104-105]

## PREFACE

This organizational Manual fills a long-felt need. It will be welcomed by many thousands of active Party members who have looked forward to its publication for a long time. Much of the material used by Comrade Peters as the basis for this Manual was, it is true, available, but it is scattered in many documents over a period of years. Much of the material was of late available, as for example, the famous and thorough-going resolutions and decisions on the question of organization adopted by the Second Organizational Conference of the Communist International, which was printed in the *Inprecorr* some ten years ago (*International Press Correspondence*, Vol. 6, No. 38).

Comrade Peters has added much to the existing material both from more recent international experience and especially from the recent experience of our own Party, experience that is very rich and valuable. The Manual embodies, therefore, the best that is available in the theory and practice of organization in our own Party and the Communist International. Comrade Peters not only is thoroughly acquainted with the fundamental principles of Leninist organization but has had a wide and varied experience in organizational work over a period of many years. It is this combination of theory and practice permeating the Manual that makes it so valuable to our Party. I am sure that when this Manual becomes popularized in the Party we will wonder how we could have gotten along without such a weapon for so long.

Aside from the fact that Manual will be of great benefit to every member of our Party in the daily work, it will, in the first place, provide the necessary material for the training of our cadres, and help in the solution of many problems with which our functionaries are faced. With 500 shop nuclei, 2,000 street nuclei, more than 250 sections, some 30 districts, and hundreds upon hundreds of fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations, there are many thousands of functionaries who will find the Manual indispensable. It will be of incalculable value especially to the functionaries in the lower organizations, the organizers, secretaries, agitprop directors, literature agents, etc., the bureau members of the shop and street nuclei, the Section Committees, upon whom falls the main burden for the execution of the line of the Party in the mass work, the character of which determines the progress of the Party in the solution of its main tasks.

If we remember that, as a result of the recent growth of the Party, the majority of the Party membership is relatively new (less than two years in the Party), then more emphasis is added to the value of the Manual. The growth of the Party membership and its increasing activity has not only multiplied our organizational problems but of necessity require that many new comrades with little organizational experience assume leading positions in the lower Party organizations and in the fractions. While we have made some efforts through the *Party Organizer* and the "Party Life" column in the *Daily Worker*,



through conferences, etc., to impart to them our knowledge and experience, this has not been done systematically. Hence, many mistakes are made all over again by the new functionaries, mistakes in the solution of problems which in some sections of the Party have already been solved. Now, with this Manual at hand, the entire Party will have available in an organized form the best experience that we have.

That the improvement in our organizational work is very pressing was forcefully brought out at the May, 1935, meeting of the Central Committee of the Party where the organizational status and the organizational work of the Party were examined very thoroughly. One of the things that was disclosed is the lack of stabilization of the lower cadres. This is mainly due to the fact that comrades are assigned to tasks for which they are not fully prepared; they are not given help, they are allowed to drift, with the result that soon it is found that their work is not satisfactory and changes are made. But the new functionaries who replace them go through the very same experiences. The result is constant change. The examination, however, brought out the fact that in those units and sections where we succeed somewhat in stabilizing the cadres the work is much better than in those where there is constant change. If the Manual will but aid in the solution of this one burning question it will more than justify its publication.

The examination of the work of the Party disclosed that, in practice, there is still an insufficient orientation in conducting our work along the lines laid down in the *Open Letter* (adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference, July 1933), that is, from the viewpoint of concentration in the main factories, industries, trade unions, the placing of the center of gravity of our work in the lower organizations.

This, of course, involves in the first place the concentration of our efforts towards the building of the Party in the factories, the creation of shop nuclei and the development of the shop nuclei into real mass Party organizations in the factories, carrying out all the tasks of the Party, leading the struggles of the masses in these factories—the struggles on all issues, economic and political.

The Manual takes up this question in great detail. It explains why we Communists are the only political Party that builds its basic organization in the factories. It takes up the questions of the construction of the shop nuclei, their methods of work under varying conditions, the relation of the shop nuclei to the sections, to the trade union fractions, etc. I am convinced that this Manual in the hands of our comrades in the shop nuclei will aid in the improvement of the work of the shop nuclei, as well as in the more rapid and systematic building of shop nuclei where they do not as yet exist.

Another central question dealt with at the May meeting of the Central Committee was the work of the trade unions fractions. With the strengthened position of our Party in the A. F. of L. unions the improvement of the work of the trade union fractions has become of increasing importance. The Manual deals with these important questions; the role of the fractions, how they are to be built, their work, their relation to the Party organizations, etc.

The question of increasing the recruiting power of the Party, the methods of recruiting, the overcoming of the high fluctuation of members, all these problems that are so closely connected with the work

of the lower organizations, the questions of methods of dues collections, initiation of new members, the education of the new members, etc., are taken up and treated in great detail.

It is unnecessary in this introduction to mention all the important questions treated in the Manual. This can be seen from a glance at the index. Suffice it to say that it deals with all the vital questions of Party organization. Let us mention just two more types of questions dealt with. First, the opening sections which explain in a very elementary and detailed manner the Party itself. What is the Communist Party; what is its role in relation to the other organizations of the workers; what is its fundamental policy; what are the main tactics of the Party, etc. It is a fact that many of our Party members have not as yet become fully acquainted with many of these questions. The second type of questions dealt with that should be mentioned we are sure will be most welcome to the comrades charged with the various duties in the shop and street nuclei: What is the task of the various functionaries? How often have we faced the question that a comrade is assigned a post, let us say unit organizer, agitprop director of the unit, *Daily Worker* agent of the unit; and the comrade receives no records of the comrades who preceded him in the post, no guidance as to his or her tasks? Finally, I wish to call attention to the section dealing with the structure of the Party from top to bottom, illustrated by a number of charts, which will give the comrades an appreciation of the whole of the machinery of the Party, their relation to it, the understanding of their special task in relation to the whole Party.

Naturally, the Manual will not by itself solve our problems. Nor will it bring the best results if it will be conceived of as a blue print to be applied mechanically. It will be most effective if it is properly understood as *a guide* to the daily practical problems. In this respect it is necessary not only that we ensure every Party member securing a copy of the Manual and reading it—and especially every comrade holding a post of responsibility from the units up—we must organize the collective study of the Manual in the units, among the various functionaries in the units, sections and districts.

JACK STACHEL.

## I. FUNDAMENTALS OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

The Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the working class, composed of the most class-conscious, the most courageous, the most self-sacrificing section of the proletariat. The Communist Party does not stand above, but is part and parcel of, the working class. It is the general staff of the proletariat.

The Communist Party is armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These teachings are a powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party. They enable the Party to direct the struggles of the working class along the correct line, and to gain victories while avoiding unnecessary sacrifice. These teachings enable the Party to know which forces are acting in the interests of the working class and which against it. By means of these teachings the Communist Party is able to find the best methods of struggle of the working class against capitalism, and for socialism.

## THE ROLE AND AIM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States, for the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist society.

Our Party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

What are the conditions? Comrade Lenin, in his pamphlet, "*Left-Wing*" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, answers this question.

"\* \* \* for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, political active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, \* \* \* weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." (Little Lenin Library, Vol. 20, p. 65.)

These two conditions alone are not sufficient for the successful struggle of the working class. Even if the masses know that socialism liberates the working class, even if the masses know that socialism can be won only through revolution, unless there is a strongly organized Communist Party which explains the aims and methods of the struggle to the workers, unless it itself organizes these struggles, and is itself in the forefront of them, the revolution cannot be victorious. Lenin wrote about the need for a strong Communist Party as the advance guard of the working class in the following words:

"In order that the mass of a definite class may learn how to understand its own interests, its situation, may learn how to carry on its own policy, precisely for this an organization of the advanced elements of the class is immediately necessary at any cost though at the beginning these elements may form a negligible section of the class."

How will the Communist Party convince the majority of the working class that a revolution is necessary? The Communist Party can do this by becoming the trusted vanguard, the beloved organizer and leader of the struggle of the working class. Agitation and propaganda alone are insufficient. Something more is needed to convince the masses of the proletariat of the necessity for the overthrow of the old order.

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## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The Communist Party systematically aids the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries (Cuba, Philippines, Latin-America, India, China, etc., etc.).

The Communist Party mobilizes the masses for international solidarity with the struggle of the workers in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party rallies the masses against imperialist war and fascism, and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of workers all over the world. It is the achievement of the international proletariat. It is the most important factor for the liberation of all workers in every country. Therefore, the workers all over the world must help the Soviet Union in building socialism, and must defend it with all their power against the attacks of the capitalist powers.

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## II. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Communist Party is organized in such a way as to guarantee, first, complete inner unity of outlook; and, second, combination of the strictest discipline with the widest initiative and independent activity of the Party membership. Both of these conditions are guaranteed because the Party is organized on the basis of democratic centralism.

### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic centralism is the system according to which:

1. All leading committees of the Party, from the Unit Bureaus up to the highest committees, are elected by the membership or delegates of the given Party organization.

2. Every elected Party committee must report regularly on its activity to its Party organization. It must give an account of its work.

3. The lower Party committees and all Party members of the given Party organization have the duty of carrying out the decisions of the higher Party committees and of the Communist International. In other words, decisions of the C. I. and of the higher Party committees are binding upon the lower bodies.

4. Party discipline is observed by the Party members and Party organizations because only those who agree with the program of the Communist Party and the C. I. can become members of the Party.

5. The minority carries out the decisions of the majority (subordination of the minority to the majority). Party questions are discussed by the members of the Party and by the Party organization until such time as a decision is made by the Party committee or organization. After a decision has been made by the leading committees of the C. I. by the Central Committee of the Party, or by the National Convention, this decision must be unreservedly carried out even, if a minority of the Party membership or a minority of the local Party organizations is in disagreement with it.

6. The Party organizations, Units, Sections, and Districts, have the full initiative, right and duty to decide on local questions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

#### *Decisions of Higher Bodies Binding on Lower Bodies*

On the basis of democratic centralism, all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies; District organizations are subordinated to the Central Committee; Section organizations are subordinated to the District Committee; Party Units (shop, street and town) are subordinated to the Section Committees.

All decisions of the World Congress and committees of the C. I. must be fulfilled by all parties of the C. I. All decision of the National Convention and the Central Committee must be fulfilled by the whole Party; all decisions of the District Convention and Committee must

be fulfilled by the Section organizations of that District; all decisions of the Section Convention and Committee are binding on the shop, street and town Units in that Section.

A Party committee or Unit Bureau, throughout the whole of its activity from Convention to Convention, from Conference to conference, from Unit meeting to Unit meeting, is not only under the control of the higher Party committees, but also under the control of the whole Party membership in the given organization. In cases where the elected Party committee is not capable of carrying out its task and the correct Party line, this committee can be changed through the calling of an extraordinary Conference by decision of the higher committees, or by the initiative of the lower organizations with the approval of the higher committees.

The Communist Party puts the interest of the working class and the Party above everything. The Party subordinates all forms of Party organization to these interests. From this it follows that one form of organization is suitable for legal existence of the Party, and another for the conditions of underground, illegal existence. Under conditions where there is no possibility of holding open elections or broad Conventions, the form of democratic centralism necessarily has to be changed. In such a situation, it is inevitable that co-option be used as well as election. That means that in such a situation the higher committees will appoint the lower committees (for example, the Central Committee may appoint the District Committee; the District Committee may appoint the Section Committee, etc.). Or, in very exceptional cases, when the lower committee is to act quickly, this committee has the right to co-opt new members to the committee from among the best leaders of the organization; and this co-option must be approved by the higher committee.

But even in the most difficult situation, the Party finds ways and means of holding elections. The Conventions or Conferences under such conditions will necessarily be smaller. The organization will be tighter so as to eliminate as far as possible the danger of the exposure of delegates to the class enemies. Under conditions of extreme terror, open election of committees would endanger the elected leaders and make it possible for the bourgeoisie and their police agents to capture the leaders of the Party, and in this way cripple the revolutionary movement. Therefore, such a method is used by the Party in electing leading committees during such a period which eliminates the danger of exposure.

Democratic centralism therefore represents a flexible system of Party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in the Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class.

#### PARTY DISCUSSION AND FREEDOM OF CRITICISM

The free discussion on questions of Party policy in individual Party organizations or in the Party as a whole, is the fundamental right of every Party member as a principal point of Party democracy. Only on the basis of internal Party democracy is it possible to develop Bolshevik self-criticism and to strengthen Party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical. There is complete freedom

of discussion in the Party until a majority decision has been made by the Unit or the leading committee, after which discussion must cease and the decision be carried out by every organization and individual member of the Party.

It is clear, however, that basic principles and decisions, such, as for example, the Program of the Communist International, cannot be questioned in the Party.

We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We do not question the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism.

We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of the C. I., of the Convention of the Party, or of the Central Committee after they are ratified. Otherwise, every under-cover agent of the bourgeoisie and every sympathizer of the renegades would have an opportunity of continually raising their counter-revolutionary theories in the Units, Sections, etc., and make the members spend time and energy in discussing such questions, thus not only disrupting the work of the Party, but also creating confusion among the less experienced and trained elements in the Party. (As a matter of fact, this is what enemies of the party are always trying to do in the name of democracy".)

However, that does not mean that the problems dealt with in such decisions—and how best to apply these decisions—are not to be clarified in the Party organizations by discussion. On the contrary, a most thorough discussion for the purpose of making every Party member understand these resolutions and decisions and how to apply them is essential or effective Party work.

#### PARTY DISCIPLINE

Party discipline is based upon the class-consciousness of its members; upon the conviction that without the minority accepting and carrying out the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher committees, there can be no strong, solid, steeled Party able to lead the proletariat. This discipline is based upon the acceptance of the C. I. and the Party program and in the confidence of the membership in the Communist International and in the Central Committee.

There can be no discipline in the Party if there is no conscious and voluntary submission on the basis of a thorough understanding of the decisions of the Party. *"Only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline"* (Stalin).

#### WHY DO THE COMMUNISTS ATTACH SO MUCH IMPORTANCE TO DISCIPLINE?

Because without discipline there is no unity of will, no unity in action. Our Party is the organized and most advanced section of the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat in the class war. In this class war there is the capitalist class with its henchmen and helpers, the reformist leaders. on one side, and the

working class and its allies, on the other. The class war is bitter. The enemy is powerful; it has all the means of deceit and suppression (armed forces, militia, police, courts, movies, radio, press, schools, churches, etc.). In order, to combat and defeat this powerful enemy, the army of the proletariat must have a highly skilled, trained General Staff (the Communist Party), which is united in action and has one will. How can an army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers? What would happen in a war if, for example, the General Staff orders an attack, and one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; another thinks that it is wrong to attack the enemy at this time and stays away from the battle; and a third section decides to quit the trenches and retreat to another position instead of going forward?

#### WHAT IS FACTIONALISM AND WHERE DOES IT LEAD?

Comrade Stalin, in his speech on the Communist Party of the U. S. A., in 1929, gave an excellent answer to this question:

"... factionalism weakens the Party spirit, it dulls the revolutionary sense and blinds the Party workers to such an extent that, in the factional passion, they are obliged to place the interests of faction above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism not infrequently brings matters to such a pass that the Party workers, blinded by the factional struggle, are inclined to gauge all facts, all events in the life of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the working class, but from the point of view of the narrow interests of their own faction, from the point of view of their own factional kitchen.

"... factionalism interferes with the training of the Party in the spirit of a policy of principles; it prevents the training of the cadres in an honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionary spirit, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled intrigue. Leninism declares that a policy based on principles is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary, believes that the only correct policy is one of factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional intrigue. That is why an atmosphere of factional struggle cultivates not politicians of principle, but adroit factionalist manipulators, experienced rascals and Mensheviks, smart in fooling the 'enemy' and covering up traces. It is true that such 'educational' work of the factionalists is contrary to the fundamental interests of the Party and the working class. But the factionalists do not give a rap for that—all they care about is their own factional diplomatic kitchen, their own group interests. . .

"It is, therefore, not surprising that politicians of principle and honest proletarian revolutionaries get no sympathy from the factionalists. On the other hand, factional tricksters and manipulators, unprincipled intriguers and backstage wire pullers and masters in the formation of unprincipled blocs are held by them in high honor.

"... factionalism, by weakening the will for unity in the Party and by undermining its iron discipline, creates within the Party a peculiar factional regime, as a result of which the whole internal life of our Party is robbed of its conspirative protection in the face of the class enemy, and the Party itself runs the danger of being transformed into

plaything of the agents of the bourgeoisie. This, as a rule, comes about in the following way: Let us say that some question is being decided in the Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee. Within the Polit-Bureau there is a minority and a majority which regard each decision from their factional standpoint. If a factional regime prevails in the Party, the wirepullers of both factions immediately inform the peripheral machine of this or that decision of the Polit-Bureau, endeavoring to prepare it for their own advantage and swing it in the direction they desire. As a rule, this process of information becomes a regular system. It becomes a regular system because each faction regards it as its duty to inform its peripheral machine in the way it thinks fit and to hold its periphery in a condition of mobilization in readiness for a scrap with the factional enemy. As a result, important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge. In this way the agents of the bourgeoisie attain access to the secret decisions of the Party and make it easy to use the knowledge of the internal life of the Party against the interests of the Party. True, such a regime threatens the complete demoralization of the ranks of the Party. But the factionalists do not care about that, since, for them, the interests of their group are supreme.

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“. . . factionalism consists in the fact that it completely nullifies all positive work done in the Party; it robs the Party workers of all desire to concern themselves with the day-to-day needs of the working class (wages, hours, the improvement of the material welfare of the workers, etc.); it weakens the work of the Party in preparing the working class for the class conflicts with the bourgeoisie and thereby creates a state of affairs in which the authority of the Party must inevitably suffer in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party, are compelled to quit the Party ranks. . . . What have the factional leaders of the majority and the minority been chiefly occupied with lately? With factional scandal-mongering, with every kind of petty factional trifle, the drawing up of useless platforms and sub-platforms, the introduction of tens and hundreds of amendments and sub-amendments to these platforms.

“Weeks and months are wasted lying in ambush for the factional enemy, trying to entrap him, trying to dig up something in the personal life of the factional enemy, or, if nothing can be found, inventing some fiction about him. It is obvious that positive work must suffer in such an atmosphere, the life of the Party becomes petty, the authority of the Party declines and the workers, the best, the revolutionary-minded workers, who want action and not scandal-mongering, are forced to leave the Party.

“That, fundamentally, is the evil of factionalism in the ranks of a Communist Party.” (*Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party*, pp. 27-30.)

### III. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The most important points where the Communist Party must work untiringly so as to fulfill the task of winning the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism are the following:

1. The big factories, mines, mills, docks, ships, railroads, etc., where the great masses of the basic sections of the proletariat are



employed. The Communist Party puts its main energy into building Party organizations in these places.

2. The A. F. of L. unions and Railroad Brotherhoods, where millions of organized workers can be won for the Party program and led in decisive struggles. The Communist Party realizes that one of the most important tasks in winning the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat is gaining influence among members of A. F. of L. unions. In order to achieve this, every available Party member must join the union of his industry, craft or occupation and work there in a real Bolshevik manner, helping to build the union, fighting for better conditions, exposing the bureaucratic, treacherous leaders as the agents of the employers and, in this way, proving to the rank and file what the leadership of the Communists means in the labor movement.

3. The independent unions where the Communists must work with the same energy and perspective as in the A. F. of L. unions.

4. The organized and unorganized masses of unemployed. The Communist Party fighting for unemployment relief and insurance leads and organizes the unemployed masses, maintains fractions in all organizations of the unemployed and forges an unbreakable link between the unemployed and employed workers in the fight for social insurance and better conditions.

5. The fraternal cultural and sport organizations in which there are large numbers of working people. The Communist Party persistently works in the mass organizations of workers, especially workers in basic industries, and through the effective work of disciplined fraction leads them and wins their confidence in the Communist Party.

6. The Negro organizations (churches, fraternal, cultural, etc.). The Communist Party through well functioning fractions in these institutions of the Negro people, leads the fight for the special interests of the Negroes (against discrimination, segregation) for the liberation struggle of the Negro people.

7. The huge farms where large numbers of agricultural workers are employed. The Communist Party through its farm Units fights for the interests of the agricultural workers (farm laborers) and organizes them in unions.

The main strategic aim of the Communist Party is to win the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party establishes closely knit organizations everywhere where workers work for their living (factory), where they live (neighborhood), where they are organized for the defense of their economic interests (unions and unemployment organizations), or organized for satisfying their cultural desires (clubs, sports and cultural organizations). These Party organizations which lead the masses in the struggle for their economic and political demands are the following: (1) Shop and Street Units. Both of these forms of organizations are full-fledged Party bodies. (2) Fractions. The Party leads the masses organized in unions and other mass organizations through the fractions which are instruments in the hands of the Party to carry the policy of the Party among the masses.

## THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

The basic organization of the Party is the Shop Unit (Nucleus), which may consist of three members or more in a given place of employment, i. e., factory, shop, mine, mill, dock, ship, railway terminal, office, store, farm, etc.

The other form of membership organization is the Street or Town Unit, comprising a group of members living within a given territory.

The leadership of the Unit is the Unit Bureau, elected by the membership of the Unit.

The next higher organization is the Section. The Section is made up of a number of Shop, Street or Town Units in a given territory. The size of the territory of a Section is decided upon by the District Committee. The Party always strives to make the territory of the Sections as small as possible in order to be able to carry on work more effectively.

The highest body in the Section is the Section Convention. The Section Convention is a meeting of delegates elected by the Shop and Street Units of the Section. The leading committee in the Section is the Section Committee and is elected by the delegates at the Section Convention from among the best members of the Section. The Section Committee is the highest leading body in the Section between Conventions. It is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the Section Convention. The elected Section Committee must be approved by the District Committee. The Section Organizer is elected by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the District Committee. Should the District Committee not approve the election of a Section Organizer the reasons for this action are discussed and explanation made to the Section Committee.

The next highest organization in the Party is the District. The District organization is made up of the Sections in a territory assigned to it by the Central Committee. The District covers a certain portion of the country (a part of one, or one, two and sometimes three states, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). The highest body in the District is the District Convention, which is a meeting of delegates elected at the Conventions of the Sections in the District. Between Conventions, the highest committee in the District is the District Committee, elected by the delegates of the Sections at the District Convention. The District Committee is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the District Convention and Central Committee. The elected District Committee has to be approved by the Central Committee. The District Organizer (political leader) is elected by the District Committee subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

The highest Party body is the National Convention. The National Convention is a meeting of delegates elected at the District Conventions. The highest committee of the Party in one country is the Central Committee, elected by the delegates at the National Convention. The Central Committee leads the Party organizations, with full authority, between Conventions and is responsible for its actions and decisions to the National Convention and to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

### WHAT IS THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION TO CONVENTIONS?

The number of delegates to Conventions is not fixed in the Constitution of the Party.

It depends on the conditions in a given situation, plus the numerical strength of the given Units, Sections and Districts.

The strategic importance of a Shop Unit, or Concentration Section, or of a District is the governing factor in deciding the number of delegates to the Convention. For example, the Section Committee can decide whether a Shop Unit from a big factory sends proportionately more delegates to the Section Convention than a Street Unit with the same number of, or perhaps even more, members.

The conditions under which the Party works are also an important factor in deciding the number of delegates. For example, a District which works partly illegally will have a smaller number of delegates to the District Convention than other District with the number of units working more openly.

On the other hand, in one District, because of certain problems which have to be clarified before the broadest possible gathering, the situation may demand a much larger representation from the Units or Sections to the Section or District Convention than another District where no such problem exists.

At the Eighth Party Convention of our Party, the general rule of representation was the following:

1. The Units elected one delegate for each five members to the Section Convention.
2. The Section Conventions elected one delegate for each 15 members in the Section to the District Convention.
3. The District Conventions elected one delegate for each 100 members in the District to the National Convention.

### THE PARTY CONFERENCES

The Sections, with the approval of the District Committee, and the Districts, with the approval of the Central Committee, may call meetings of delegates for a conference between Conventions. These conferences take up the work of the respective organizations and discuss problems concerning new tactics necessitated by changed situations. The difference between a convention and conference is that the conference does not elect a new leadership and that all decisions must be approved by the higher Party committee. The Party conference has the right to elect new members to the Committee if some old ones have been removed for one reason or another, and has the right to remove individual members from the committee if for sufficient reason it believes they are not fit to be leaders of the organization.

### PARTY COMMITTEES AND THEIR SIZE

The Party committees elected at the conventions are composed of the best, most developed comrades in the given organization. Representation to the Section Committee is not on the basis of representation from each Unit; nor does each Section elect a representative to the District Committee. At the same time we must bear in mind that the Section Committee or a higher Party committee must have among its members comrades who are working in the most important fac-

tories, as well as members of the most important trade unions, in order to maintain a living connection between the leadership and the masses at these important points.

The size of the Party committee always depends on the numerical strength of the organization which elects it, on the importance of the organization, and on the given situation. The approximate average size of the committee is the following:

Unit Bureau	—3-5 members
Section Committee	—9-11 members
District Committee	—15-19 members
Central Committee	—30-35 members

#### WHAT ARE THE PARTY BUREAUS?

The Bureau is the leading body in the Section, District and Center between committee meetings, acts with full authority during this period, and is responsible to the committee by which it is elected. Their approximate size is:

Section Bureau	—about 5 members
District Bureau	—about 7-9 members
Political Bureau of the C. C.	—about 7-9 members

As a general rule the Party committees meet as follows:

Unit Bureau—once a week
Section Bureau—once a week
Section Committee—twice, usually, but at least once a month
District Bureau—once a week
District Committee—once a month
Political Bureau—once a week
Central Committee—once in two months

#### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (COMINTERN)

The Communist International is the International organization of Communist Parties in all countries. It is the World Communist Party. The Communist Parties in the various countries affiliated to the Comintern are called Sections of the Communist International.

The World Congress composed of delegates from all the parties affiliated to the Communist International (Comintern) is the highest authority in Communist Party organization.

The date of the Congress and the number of delegates from the various Communist Parties are decided upon by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.). But the number of votes allocated to each Party at the World Congress is decided upon by special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country.

The leading body of the Communist International during the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), elected by the delegates at the World Congress. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are binding for all Parties belonging to the Comintern and must be promptly carried out. The Communist Parties have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congresses, but must proceed to carry out such decisions pending the final action of the World Congress on the appeal. The leadership of the Comintern (C. I.) is composed of the

best, most developed, experienced, tried, leaders of the various Communist Parties.

The meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are in size similar to a World Congress. These meetings are called the Enlarged Plenums of the Executive Committee of the C. I. Besides the elected members of the Executive Committee of the C. I. there are invited to this Enlarged Plenum additional delegates from the various countries, so that these Plenums have 300 or 400 delegates present from the various Parties. The difference between a Congress and an Enlarged Plenum consists in the fact that while delegates to the Congress are elected on the basis of numerical strength and political importance of the Communist Parties, the number of additional invited delegates from the Communist Parties to the Enlarged Plenum is decided upon on the basis of the order of business of the Plenum. These delegates are selected by the Central Committees of the various Communist Parties. At the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. only the members of the E. C. C. I. have the right to vote. The other invited delegates have the right to participate in the discussion, but have only a consultative vote.

The E. C. C. I. elects from among its members a Presidium which is responsible to the E. C. C. I. The Presidium meets at least once a month and acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. during the period between meetings of the latter.

The Presidium elects from among its members the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions between Presidium meetings, and is responsible to the Presidium.

#### STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Let us briefly sum up the structure of the Communist Party in the order of responsibility on the basis of the foregoing description\*:

- Unit Bureau
- Unit Membership Meeting
- Section Bureau
- Section Committee
- Section Convention
- District Bureau
- District Committee
- District Convention
- Political Bureau of the C. C.
- Central Committee
- National Convention
- Political Secretariat of the C. I.
- Presidium of the C. I.
- Executive Committee of the C. I.
- World Congress of the C. I.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Any person from the age of eighteen up, who accepts the program and statutes of the C. I., and the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

If a worker who is less than 18 years of age wants to join the Party, and there is no Young Communist League in the town or

factory, the Party Unit has the right to accept him into the Unit, get him a book and permit him to remain of the Party Unit until, with the help of the Party Unit, he is able to build up a Unit of the Y. C. L.

#### WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The conditions for membership in our Party are contained in the following pledge read by Comrade Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935.

*"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States."*

Our Party application carries this declaration:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C. I. and the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

On the basis of this declaration we could enumerate the conditions for membership in the Party in the following way:

1. Activity in a unit;
2. Regular payment of membership dues;
3. Adherence to all decisions of the Comintern and of the Party;
4. Adherence to the discipline of the Party.

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Technically the next two exhibits belong in Part II (Communism in the United States). They are not reports to the Communist International or directives from C. I. reps, although both Browder and Foster did on various occasions serve as such. Nevertheless, they are here reprinted in order to exemplify the kind of Aesopian doubletalk leading Communists will employ in order to avoid telling the truth under oath (see A, exhibit No. 7). The testimony of Browder and Foster must be read in connection with Peter's *Manual on Organization* and other exhibits included in this section.

Victims of heart attacks may find some kind of encouragement in the case of William Z. Foster. Although he was alleged to have been prostrated for four years (1932-1936), he managed to remain a very active conspirator against the United States. Since 1951, his name has appeared as the author of no less than four official Communist "histories."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, *Outline History of the Americas* (1951), *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (1952), *The Negro People in American History* (1954), *History of the Three Internationals* (1955).

## EXHIBIT No. 19

[Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, vol. 7, September 5, 1939. Pp. 4275-4276, 4278-4279, 4305-4315, 4323-4324, 4347]

TESTIMONY OF EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, SECRETARY OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that our procedure will be that our counsel, Mr. Whitley, will first question the witness, and then Mr. Matthews will also ask some questions, following Mr. Whitley's questions. Then if members of the committee have some pertinent questions they desire to ask during the course of the hearing, if they will address the Chair and state they desire to interrupt the questioning for that purpose, the Chair will accord them the privilege of asking questions in connection with the matter as to which the witness is being questioned. It is preferable, however, for members to wait until the questioning of witnesses by committee counsel is completed, after which members may ask such questions as they desire.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. BROWDER. Earl Russell Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. It is our purpose to be entirely fair to you, and at the same time we want you to make your answers responsive, so we can get some place. Witnesses are entitled to and will receive fair treatment, and, in turn, we expect them to be courteous to the committee and make their answers responsive. Then, if a witness has an explanation that is pertinent to the question, an explanation will be in order, if it is pertinent to the particular matter under consideration.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, have you ever gone under and been known by any other name?

Mr. BROWDER. I have been known by other names years ago; I have used different pen names in writings, and so on, but in all my ordinary life I have been known by the name of Earl Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other names have you been known by, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. I have been under the name of Ward and Dixon in various writings and conferences.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are those names, Ward and Dixon, which you have used, what are known as party names?

Mr. BROWDER. No; nom de plumes, for the purpose of writing.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have only used them for the purpose of writing?

Mr. BROWDER. And so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not used them for the purpose of identification by the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. I have been addressed by those names at times many years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the general practice of the Communist Party for its members to use aliases or assumed names?

Mr. BROWDER. It is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. And there is no such thing as a party name?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, no name other than the actual name of the person or the member?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no such practice in your party?

Mr. BROWDER. No such practice.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state the occasions on which you have used those names—Dixon and Ward?

Mr. BROWDER. Around 1921 and 1922, at the time there was in existence what was called the underground Communist Party, that is, the Communist Party that did not maintain open headquarters and open publications.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you known to the other officers and members of the party in this country or abroad by those names?

Mr. BROWDER. That I do not know. Of course, some people knew these names.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, you were generally known and referred to on your trips to Russia by the name of Dixon, at least on a number of occasions?

Mr. BROWDER. On some occasions, I believe one time a book of mine was published under that name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the party official publications, in referring to you while you were attending conferences abroad, in Moscow, referred to you as Dixon?

Mr. BROWDER. I believe that took place once.

Mr. WHITLEY. On one occasion?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any other names other than the two you have mentioned?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

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Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a member of any committees of the Communist International or served in any capacity in the Comintern?

Mr. BROWDER. Of the Communist International, I have been a member of the executive committee since 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the highest governing body of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you served the Communist International in any capacity elsewhere than in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or as a representative to any other country for the Comintern?

Mr. BROWDER. I must make one exception to that statement. In 1935 I was an official member of a delegation representing the Communist International to accompany the body of Henri Barbusse, who had died in Moscow, back to Paris and to take part in his funeral as one of the delegation of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever serve the Comintern in any capacity in China?

Mr. BROWDER. No.



Mr. WHITLEY. What was your official position or activity when you were in China?

Mr. BROWDER. I was a delegate of the Trade Union Educational League, of the trade-union delegation or workers' delegation that went to China in 1927. While that delegation was in China there took place a trade-union conference in China, with delegates from the United States and elsewhere, and this conference elected me to the secretariat of the committee that was set up for the establishment of trade unions and connections between various countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. That had nothing to do with the Communist Party or the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. No; that was a trade-union activity, a trade-union organization.

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Mr. WHITLEY. Now, to repeat for just a moment, Mr. Browder. At the present time, in addition to being general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, you are a member of the executive committee of the Comintern; is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right—of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, who are the men upon whose books or writings communism is based, or founded?

Mr. BROWDER. The greatest authorities on the theory of communism are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Mr. STARNES. Who was the second? I did not get the second name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Mr. BROWDER. Karl Marx; Frederick Engels, collaborator with Marx; Vladimir Ilich Lenin; and Joseph Stalin.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, what books or writings of the persons or authors you have just named would you select as best representing the principles and purposes of communism?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, I would say that in the writings of Lenin and Stalin you have summed up the teachings of Marx and Engels, and their further development under the conditions of the twentieth century. If one was to pick out particular writings which would best represent it, I would say the two volumes of the collected works of Stalin, published under the name of Leninism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Foundations of Leninism?

Mr. BROWDER. Foundations of Leninism is only one part of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. The two volumes are known as Leninism?

Mr. BROWDER. As Leninism; yes. That is a collection of the writings and of speeches of Stalin for the period of 1924 to 1929, aside from those things which were purely topical and of the day. Eliminating those, in those writings you have the best expression of the theory of communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, getting back to the books, or the teachings upon which communism is founded, would you list the Manifesto by Marx and Lenin as one of the basic works on communism?

Mr. BROWDER. I suppose you refer to the Communist Manifesto of 1848 by Marx and Engels.

Mr. WHITLEY. By Marx and Engels; that is correct.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; I would say that is one of the greatest historical documents as marking the foundation of the theory of scientific socialism.

Mr. WHITLEY. And would you classify *Das Kapital*, by Marx, as one of the basic works on communism?

Mr. BROWDER. One of the basic works.

Mr. WHITLEY. And one of the works——

Mr. BROWDER. Indispensable to any understanding of the economic question.

Mr. WHITLEY. And presents the principles and purposes of communism?

Mr. BROWDER. Presents an understanding of communism and the problems of economics. It is not a program.

Mr. WHITLEY. *State and Revolution*, by Lenin; would you classify that as one of the basic works?

Mr. BROWDER. I would classify that as one of the basic works.

Mr. WHITLEY. And one of the works which presents the principles and purposes of communism?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes—one of the great books.

Mr. WHITLEY. *Left Wing Communism*, by Stalin?

Mr. BROWDER. By Lenin.

Mr. WHITLEY. By Lenin?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you so classify that?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. *Two Tactics*?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Also by Lenin?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And *What is to be Done*, by Lenin, is another one of the basic works on communism?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to introduce those works in the record at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean as exhibits?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just to have them identified by the reporter.

Mr. BROWDER. I believe on Capital you only have volume 1. There are three volumes to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; that is the first volume.

Mr. THOMAS. Are all those in English, or in some foreign language?

Mr. WHITLEY. They are all in English.

(The books above referred to were marked "September 5, 1939. Witness Browder, W. R. G.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, is the most authoritative definition or statement on the present line of the Communist Party set forth in *The United Front*, by Dimitroff?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say that is the most authoritative statement of the general line of the World Communist movement as formulated by the Seventh World Congress in 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would also like to have that identified.

(The book above referred to was marked "September 5, 1939. Witness Browder, W. R. G.")

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Dimitroff is the secretary of the executive committee of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right. He is general secretary of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. His position with the Communist International corresponds to your position with the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And his book represents—it is the best representation of the present line of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER. In its international phase; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In its international phase?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, what are your own principal books or writings on the subject of communism?

Mr. CASEY. Before you go to that, may I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Is it pertinent, along the line of this testimony?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. CASEY. These various books that have been introduced in evidence as forming the basis of the Communist doctrine, is the Communist Party in America in substantial agreement with all of the various theories set forth in these books?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, there is no orthodoxy of communism, and all the literature of communism is taken not as orthodox formulas, but as guides to thought and action—guides to thought and action—which is applied not mechanically and not according to the letter, but according to the substance and the circumstances of each particular country.

Mr. CASEY. According to your definition—may I put it this way: Is there any substantial disagreement between anything that is set forth in the books that have been introduced in evidence?

Mr. BROWDER. Not of a principle character.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are your own principal writings on the subject to communism, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. I have published four books: Communism in the United States, a collection of the reports, articles, and speeches in the years 1933 and 1934; a book, What is Communism, which was published in the beginning of 1936; The People's Front, a collection of articles, reports, and speeches for 1936-37, published at the end of 1937 or the beginning of 1938; and the book, Fighting for Peace, a collection of my articles and speeches during 1938 and the beginning of 1939, having to do with the question of the foreign policy of the United States and the questions of peace and war.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about The Democratic Front; is that another of your works?

Mr. BROWDER. That is my report to the tenth convention of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. And these writings represent the line of the Communist Party in the United States as interpreted by its official spokesman—yourself?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; and the largest part of the contents of these books have been officially endorsed by the Communist Party—not every detail, but the largest part.

Mr. WHITLEY. It represents, then, the authentic position——

Mr. BROWDER. I think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the line of the party of the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to have those introduced, Mr. Chairman, into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; they will be marked as exhibits by the stenographer.

(The books above referred to were marked "September 5, 1939. Witness Browder. W. R. G.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, your pamphlet, The Democratic Front—does that represent the line, the present line of the Communist Party of the United States on the subjects which are covered therein?

Mr. BROWDER. It does.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, is the Communist Party of the United States affiliated with and a part of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States is affiliated with the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it function under the constitution of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States never complied with the constitutional provisions of the Communist International on affiliation and the issue was never raised between us.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you say that the Communist Party of the United States has never officially adopted the constitution?

Mr. BROWDER. And has not complied with its provisions.

Mr. WHITLEY. It has not complied with its provisions?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. If that is the case, Mr. Browder, then in what manner and on what terms did the Communist Party of the United States become officially affiliated?

Mr. BROWDER. The affiliation was first made at the time when the party was known as the Workers' Party of America. I cannot give you the exact date, but it is approximately 1923, or the end of 1922—from a year to a year and a half after the formation of the Workers' Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Workers' Party, which was the forerunner of the present Communist Party in the United States, officially adopt or approve the constitution of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. It did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. It did not?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your affiliation, then, has not been formal; is that the understanding?

Mr. BROWDER. There are certain formal affiliations, yes, because we have participated in the international congresses; we have sent delegates to all of the international congresses since the third congress:

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the fact that the C. P. U. S. A. has not officially approved or adopted the constitution of the Communist International has not in any way changed its status from any other Communist Party which has adopted it?

Mr. BROWDER. Politically; no. It was only on organizational questions that there was any ignoring of the constitution. Politically, there has been the closest collaboration, the closest relationship.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your relationship to the Communist International was just the same as if there had been a formal approval of the constitution?

Mr. BROWDER. In its political essence, yes; in its organizational forms, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean organizationally there is a variance?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. From the constitution of the international?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you point out those points of variance, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, for one thing, the Communist Party of the United States has never paid dues to the Communist International; it has not submitted regular reports, and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are requirements under the constitution?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the international?

Mr. BROWDER. There are a series of such requirements under the constitution which have never been observed by us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you point out some of the others, in addition to not paying dues and making regular reports?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Browder said he had not made regular reports. How often have they reported, and how often are they required to report?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, we have reported, in the period in which I can speak of my own personal knowledge, at the international congresses and conferences in person. Most of those since 1930 I have myself attended, and I have given oral reports to all of my associates of the other Communist Parties, both in personal conversations and in formal meetings of the Communist International. I have spoken about American conditions and problems, and tried to explain them and to make clear these problems and conditions, and also the attitude of the Communist Party of the United States to them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did the constitution require that you make any reports at various periods?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, the constitution requires that all the minutes and documents of affiliated parties should be sent to the headquarters of the Communist International. This we have never complied with, one of the reasons being, of course, not that we do not want them to have them, but we are so far away that communication is very difficult.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is the only reason?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; no political reason.

Mr. WHITLEY. To all intents and purposes, though, you are affiliated with the Communist International, just the same?

Mr. BROWDER. So far as the political essence of the problem is concerned, there is the closest harmony between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Communist International itself has approved the affiliation?

Mr. BROWDER. Not formally; but by accepting the delegates of the party in its congresses.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact it was not formal does not vary the relationship?

Mr. BROWDER. No. It becomes a question only if people begin to raise formal questions. If they are dealing with political questions, it does not become a question; if they are dealing with formal questions, it does.

Mr. THOMAS. Does that close harmony exist now that Mr. Stalin has signed up with Mr. Hitler?

Mr. BROWDER. I don't understand your question.

Mr. THOMAS. You said the closest harmony existed between the Communist Party in the United States and the Communist International. That is the statement you just made; is not that correct?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That is true; is it not?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. What I want to know is whether the closest harmony exists right today, now that Mr. Stalin has made his nonaggression pact with Mr. Hitler, that did not exist a few weeks ago?

Mr. BROWDER. I understand your question now. Yes. Yes; the closest harmony and agreement exists.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, is that a copy of the program of the Communist International and the statutes of the Communist International under which it presently operates [handing pamphlet to witness]?

Mr. BROWDER (after examination). No; this is the Sixth World Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the program adopted at the Sixth World Congress.

Mr. BROWDER. At the Sixth World Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. BROWDER. It is in force only as modified by the Seventh World Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were those modifications; do you know?

Mr. BROWDER. The Seventh World Congress inaugurated the policy of the People's Front, which was a sharp turn in the political policy of the Communist Parties of the World.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that was a radical departure from the program as outlined by previous congresses?

Mr. BROWDER. From the tactical phase; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have a copy of the program as adopted by the Seventh World Congress in 1935?

Mr. BROWDER. I could provide it for you. The resolution, you mean?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. BROWDER. You have the substance of it in the book you have already introduced.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now might I ask a question at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Is it pertinent?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder, would you say that the only reason for the change in policy, so far as the Communist Party of the United States is concerned, from the policies followed previously, was on account of the new decisions and program adopted at the Seventh World Congress?

**Mr. BROWDER.** No; I would say nothing of the kind. I would say that the same forces that were operating in other Communist Parties of the World are operating in the United States, and we were independently coming to conclusions of a change in policy before the representatives of the various parties gathered in the Seventh World Congress. In fact, the Communist Party of the United States was one of those parties which took the initiative in beginning changes before the congress, in its own work, and raising the whole question at the Seventh World Congress and clarifying it for the Seventh World Congress.

**Mr. VOORHIS.** Supposing you had failed in the Seventh World Congress in putting your idea across, would you have been free to proceed along the lines that were actually adopted in the Seventh World Congress, in spite of the fact that the Seventh World Congress had decided against you?

**Mr. BROWDER.** If we had considered the question of sufficient importance that it was necessary to take a different line, then inevitably the conclusion would have been drawn; that we would leave the Communist International. We do not believe in an international organization which continues to keep up a formula of international unity, in spite of a real lack of unity, and whenever we fundamentally disagree with a decision of the Communist International, we would withdraw from it.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** In other words, there has never been a fundamental disagreement?

**Mr. BROWDER.** There has not.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** You have always agreed fundamentally with the Communist International?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. VOORHIS.** But that is purely a fortuitous circumstance? What I mean is, it has just happened that the Communist Party of the United States just happened to agree with what the Communist International decided; is that right?

**Mr. BROWDER.** According to our understanding of history, nothing just happens; it happens according to certain laws, according to certain social and political developments.

**The CHAIRMAN.** You say this Seventh World Congress changed the policy or tactics of the Communist Party; is that right?

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right.

**The CHAIRMAN.** With reference to the People's Front?

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right.

**The CHAIRMAN.** That decision was that the Communist Party was to join hands with other organizations opposed to nazi-ism; is that right?

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right.

**The CHAIRMAN.** And to form a People's Front, like in France—I believe it is called a People's Front there—and in other countries?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Where they would present a united front against nazi-ism?

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right.

**The CHAIRMAN.** That was the purpose—to present a solid front against nazi-ism?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes; to prevent the destruction of democracy, opposed to fascism in all of its forms on every question.

Mr. STARNES. What were those organizations affiliated with or organized as a result of the Seventh World Congress to carry on the fight against nazi-ism and fascism throughout the world?

Mr. BROWDER. I would not say any particular organizations were formed as a result of the Seventh World Congress.

Mr. STARNES. Were organizations formed thereafter, Mr. Browder, for that purpose?

Mr. BROWDER. I do not know of any.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know of any at all?

Mr. BROWDER. If you have reference to the American League Against War and Fascism, that was formed sometime before the Seventh World Congress.

Mr. STARNES. Was a report made of the doings of that league at the Seventh World Congress, and attention called to its work?

Mr. BROWDER. Oh, sure. When I reported to the Seventh World Congress, I reported what I considered a very important and significant development in American political, civic and economic life, including all of the political parties of America—a very significant reorganization. I tried to give a rounded-out picture of the developments in America.

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Browder, will you give us an outline of the administrative structure of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. The world congress is the supreme authority of the Communist International. It elects an executive committee composed of representatives of the most important parties affiliated to the Communist International. The executive committee, which meets only occasionally on call, elects a smaller committee to conduct the day-to-day business of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the name of that committee?

Mr. BROWDER. I believe it is called the secretariat.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what is the size of the executive committee of the Communist International, approximately?

Mr. BROWDER. Approximately, it is between 40 and 50 members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Between 40 and 50 members?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Selected by the world congress?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That congress being made up of Communist parties throughout the world?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the executive committee, in turn, selects a small group known as the secretariat?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which carries on the day-to-day business of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the organization of which he is a member?

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of the executive committee?

Mr. BROWDER. I am a member of the executive committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of the secretariat?

Mr. BROWDER. No; I am not.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many members comprise the secretariat?

Mr. BROWDER. I think there are some 10.



Mr. WHITLEY. That is the small governing body?

Mr. BROWDER. I would not say governing body; I would say administrative body.

The CHAIRMAN. But they are subject to the executive committee?

Mr. BROWDER. Responsible to the executive committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where are those congresses held and when are they held, Mr. Browder.

Mr. BROWDER. The congresses are held in Moscow. That is not a constitutional provision, but it happens to be the only place where a world congress can be held.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is because the headquarters of the Communist International are there, is it not?

Mr. BROWDER. I would say the headquarters are there for the same reason.

Mr. WHITLEY. It just happens?

Mr. BROWDER. That is the only country that would permit the functioning of the International organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it just happens to be in Moscow, for those reasons?

Mr. BROWDER. Again I would say I never can agree with the expression "just happens." When a thing happens, it happens because of certain laws.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have explained that.

Mr. WHITLEY. If some other country would permit, the Communist International, the headquarters of the Comintern would be there?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes. And I think the Communist International would welcome such a development.

Mr. WHITLEY. How often are congresses held in Moscow?

Mr. BROWDER. There is no stated period.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no stated period?

Mr. BROWDER. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just when called?

Mr. BROWDER. The last one was held in 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the congresses called by?

Mr. BROWDER. The executive committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are called by the executive committee?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when was the congress preceding the one in 1935?

Mr. BROWDER. 1928.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1928?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was a lapse there from 1928 until 1935, when there was no World Congress?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. During which period the executive committee and the secretariat carried on the administrative functions of the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now who are the members of this secretariat, Mr. Browder? Do you recall?

Mr. BROWDER. I can recall a few names; I am not certain I can recall them all. George Dimitroff, general secretary; Wilhelm Pieck—

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Mr. Dimitroff is a member of what Communist Party?

**Mr. BROWDER.** At the present time I think he is a citizen of the Soviet Union and a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He comes from Bulgaria.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** But he is a member of the Soviet Communist Party?

**Mr. BROWDER.** At the present time; yes—since his release from Germany. At the time of the Reichstag fire trial, he was gotten out of Germany by being made a citizen of the Soviet Union at that time.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Now Mr. Pieck, another member of the secretariat: Of what Communist Party is he a member?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Pieck is a German.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** He is a member of the Germany party?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Is he a German citizen?

**Mr. BROWDER.** According to the laws of Mr. Hitler, no.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Is he a Soviet citizen?

**Mr. BROWDER.** No; he is like so many Germans—a man without a country. He holds citizenship in the Communist Party of Germany.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Will you name the other members of the executive committee?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Maurice Thorez.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** And what party is he a member of?

**Mr. BROWDER.** The Communist Party of France.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** The Communist Party of France?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Is he a citizen of France?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Will you name the others, Mr. Browder?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Ercoli—Alfred Ercoli, an Italian—again, a man denied his citizenship by the present regime in Italy.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** But not a Soviet citizen?

**Mr. BROWDER.** No.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** He is a refugee from Italy?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Living in Russia?

**Mr. BROWDER.** Yes.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Just like Mr. Pieck is a refugee from Germany living in Russia?

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right. And if you want a complete list, which I am sure I will not be able to give you from memory, perhaps you should allow me to get the records from New York on it.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Yes.

**Mr. BROWDER.** I can give you a complete list of the secretariat of the Communist International.

**Mr. STARNES.** And let us know what country they come from.

**Mr. WHITLEY.** Give us the background.

**Mr. BROWDER.** The name and the country?

**Mr. WHITLEY.** That is right; their citizenship and the Communist Party they belong to; that is, what country.

**Mr. BROWDER.** That is right.

(The list referred to follows:)

MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (AS ELECTED AT THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS, 1935)

George Dimitroff, general secretary; M. Ercoli, D. Z. Manuisky, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Kuusinen, Andre Marty, Klement Gottwald.

*Candidate-members.*—M. Florin, M. A. Moskvina, Wang Ming.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the relations between the Communist International and the Government of Soviet Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. There is no relationship.

Mr. WHITLEY. None whatever?

Mr. BROWDER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Either direct or indirect?

Mr. BROWDER. It depends on what you mean by indirect relationship. Men who occupy high office in the Government of Soviet Russia are also leaders in the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do officials of the Soviet Government exercise any direction or control over the Communist International?

Mr. BROWDER. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the membership of the Communist Party in Russia today?

Mr. BROWDER. I believe it is about three and a half million.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the approximate membership in Russia in 1919?

Mr. BROWDER. 1919 I believe it must have been about one and a half million.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the relations of the Communist Party of the United States with the Government of Soviet Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. There are no relations.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are no relations whatever?

Mr. BROWDER. None whatever.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say definitely that its relations with that government are the same as they would have with any other government that it might have contact with?

Mr. BROWDER. The form of your question makes it difficult to answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then I withdrew the question. I wanted a positive answer, and I think the committee should be given a positive answer. You say it has no connection or relation with it, directly or indirectly?

Mr. BROWDER. No, sir; it has not.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the relations between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, generally, it is on a fraternal basis belonging to the same party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The relations of C. P. U. S. A. with the Communist Party in Soviet Russia are the same that the party in the United States would have with the Communist party in any other country?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party of the United States receive any financial assistance, direct or indirect, from the Soviet Government?

Mr. BROWDER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it receive instructions or suggestions, directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Government?

Mr. BROWDER. It does not.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the contacts or relations between the Communist Party in the United States and the Soviet Government officials in the United States.

Mr. BROWDER. None whatever.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Soviet Government carry on propaganda activities of any kind in this country, to your knowledge?

Mr. BROWDER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through any intermediaries?

Mr. BROWDER. Unless you could say that the Soviet Government's participation in the World's Fair is propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the Communist Party of the United States registered with the State Department as a propaganda agency of a foreign power?

Mr. BROWDER. It is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Soviet Government have leaders and officials of the Communist Party of the United States to make trips to Russia for the purpose of training them in propaganda activities?

Mr. BROWDER. It does not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Comintern or the Communist International give their members or officials of the party in the United States trips to Russia for the purpose of training them?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States has in the past through cooperation with the Communist International sent students to Russia, but there have been none sent for several years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you mean by cooperation financial assistance?

Mr. BROWDER. I mean that the Communist International maintained the students. The Communist Party of the United States sent them abroad.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will go into that in more detail. How many trips have you made to Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. I cannot say offhand, but very many.

\* \* \* \* \*

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any single instance where the Communist Party of the United States has ever disagreed with the Communist line in Russia?

Mr. BROWDER. Never have.

The CHAIRMAN. You have always been together?

Mr. BROWDER. We sure have.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not been by any prearrangement or anything of that sort.

Mr. BROWDER. No; but not by accident, either.

The CHAIRMAN. It is because——

Mr. BROWDER. It is because we think from the same premise.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the materialistic interpretation of history, is that right?

Mr. BROWDER. We think from the same premises.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is the materialistic philosophy, is it not?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes. We think the material conditions of life determine our thoughts, rather than the thoughts determining the material conditions of life.

**The CHAIRMAN.** So that has been responsible for the fact that in all the years in which your party has been in existence you have been in complete unanimity and harmony with Russia?

**Mr. BROWDER.** We have a common philosophy.

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EXHIBIT No. 20.

[Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 9, September 29, 1939. Pp. 5323-5325, 5326-5338, 5346-5347, 5387-5388, 5422]

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

**The CHAIRMAN.** Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony that you give to the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

**Mr. FOSTER.** I affirm.

**Mr. BRODSKY.** May I, for the record, state, as I told you a few minutes ago, that between 1932 and 1936 Mr. Foster was completely prostrated as the result of a heart condition, and he is only partially recovered even now. He can stand several hours' examination, and he wants to cooperate to the extent of submitting to a complete examination.

**The CHAIRMAN.** I understand that between 1932 and 1936 he had a serious heart attack and he is still not completely recovered.

**Mr. BRODSKY.** He was completely prostrated during that period and still suffers from it.

**The CHAIRMAN.** We will be glad to show him every consideration possible. I suggest Mr. Foster make his answers responsive and complete, because all we are after is to get the facts.

**Mr. BRODSKY.** He is willing to do that, even if he has to stay longer than today.

**The CHAIRMAN.** For say about 2 hours at a time?

**Mr. BRODSKY.** We will try to cooperate and stay as long as possible and if necessary come back tomorrow.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Will you please state your full name for the record?

\* **Mr. FOSTER.** William Z. Foster.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What is your home address?

**Mr. FOSTER.** 1040 Nelson Avenue, The Bronx, New York City.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What is your business address?

**Mr. FOSTER.** 35 Twelfth Street, New York City.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What is your position?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Chairman of the Communist Party.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** National chairman?

**Mr. FOSTER.** National chairman.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** How long have you occupied the position of national chairman?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Several years; I cannot say precisely when.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Has it been 5 or 6 years, or more?

**Mr. FOSTER.** About 5 or 6 years.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What other positions have you held in the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I have been a member of the executive committee since 1921. I have been a member of the secretariat of our party over a period of years, when we had a secretariat. I am now a member of the political committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there still a secretariat?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a candidate for President on the Communist Party ticket, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. In 1924, 1928, and 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Three times?

Mr. FOSTER. Three times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a candidate for any other office on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. FOSTER. For Governor of New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Once?

Mr. FOSTER. Once.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any other?

Mr. FOSTER. That is all, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I am a member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist International has no members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not true that all members of Communist parties in the various countries are by virtue of their membership in those parties also members of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not so understood.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your answer?

Mr. FOSTER. That it is not so understood.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not make it a little more definite?

Mr. FOSTER. All parties are members of the Communist International, but the members—that is the first time I ever heard such a question mentioned, as to a member of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get that definite. You mean that while the party itself, as an organization, is a member of the Communist International, the members of the party are not members of the international?

Mr. FOSTER. They do not consider themselves as such; I never heard them referred to as such. This is the first time I ever heard that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time you ever heard that?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I can recollect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What positions have you held in the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. I am a member of the executive and a member of the presidium of the executive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you occupied those positions?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, probably—I cannot say exactly—probably about 10 years or more a member of the executive of the Communist International, and a member of the presidium since 1935.

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state the purpose of your trip to the Soviet Union in 1921?

Mr. FOSTER. I went there to study the situation. I was not a member of the party at the time. I went there to study what was going on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the Communist Party as a result of that visit to the Soviet Union?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next visit was in 1923; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. Something like that; early in 1923 or early in 1924, I am not certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the purpose of that visit?

Mr. FOSTER. The purpose of that visit—I went as a delegate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You went as a delegate that year?

Mr. FOSTER. As a delegate to the Profintern, or the Comintern, I am not certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a delegate for the Profintern or the Comintern, or both?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the first time you were a delegate to the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. The first time I was a delegate?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. The first time I was a delegate to the Profintern was in 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not exactly understand that. A moment ago you said you went to Russia in 1921 to study communism?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a member. How could you have been a delegate to the Profintern if you were not a member in 1921?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the Profintern was not a Communist organization; it was a trade-union organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You went as a delegate to the trade-union organization, but not in the capacity as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go as a delegate from the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your connection with the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. I was national secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you representing the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you editor of its publication, "The Labor Herald"?

Mr. FOSTER. I was one of the editors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you the only editor listed in the publication?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible I was the only one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I know all these things are possible. Could you not make it more definite?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot recall; I know others worked as editors, but whether their names were on the masthead, I cannot say. I was the responsible editor, but Mr. Browder did the work.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What was Mr. Browder's official connection with the Trade Union Educational League?

**Mr. FOSTER.** He was a member of the executive.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Was he also the business manager of the Labor Herald?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Yes; he handled that side of it.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What was the next occasion of your being a delegate to the Profintern after 1921?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well, I could not say offhand. I could say—sometimes—sometimes I went as a delegate to the Communist International Executive and sometimes to the Profintern.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Could you tell us how many times altogether you have been a delegate to the Profintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Several times; I could not tell you exactly. I was a delegate to the congress, and I was a delegate, I believe it was to the Fourth Congress and the Fifth Congress and two or three executive meetings in between.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Could you give us the years in which you had connection with the Profintern, from 1921 down to what year?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well, after 1932 I had no further connection with the Profintern.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Was the Trade Union Educational League an affiliate of the Profintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** It was.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** What name did the Trade Union Educational league take later on?

**Mr. FOSTER.** It was reorganized into the Trade Union Unity league.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Was the Trade Union Unity League also an affiliate of the Profintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well, informally it was, but we never voted for affiliation, so far as I know.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** But it was all understood, was it not?

**Mr. FOSTER.** More or less loosely. In fact, I understand, while I was laid up they disaffiliated with the organization.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** After 1932?

**Mr. FOSTER.** So I heard, but I did not have anything to do with it.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** But for a period of 10 or 11 years you were closely connected with the work of the Profintern by virtue of your leadership in the Trade Union Educational League and the Trade Union Unity League?

**Mr. FOSTER.** That is correct.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** You knew the workings and program and objectives of the Profintern through those connections?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Reasonably well.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Were you not as well or better acquainted with that aspect of the work than anyone else in the Communist Party in the United States during that period?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well. I would not say that, but I was pretty well posted.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** You were as well posted as anyone else, were you not?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Probably.

**Mr. MATTHEWS.** Did Mr. Browder ever accompany you to Moscow as a delegate to the Profintern?



Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Profintern send Mr. Browder to China in 1927?

Mr. FOSTER. He was in China; I do not know whether he was sent by the Profintern or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no idea?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no direct idea of it; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other group he might have represented in China?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not know what his credentials were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your best recollection?

Mr. FOSTER. I know he was working in the Profintern work at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was working in Profintern work at the time and he did go to China?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not quite positive he was sent to China by the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. I heard as much, but Mr. Browder can answer that definitely. I did not issue his credentials.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not issue his credentials?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were the executive of the Trade Union Educational League, were you, at the time?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would anyone else in that organization have been in a position to issue credentials to Mr. Browder if he had been representing the Trade Union Educational League?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If he did have credentials from the Trade Union Educational League you would have had to issue them?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, the question is, Did you issue them?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had done it, you would know now, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I think quite possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of possibility; if you had issued the credentials to Earl Browder you would certainly remember that now, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. I have been working for many years in organizations in sending delegations and commissions here and there, and whether or not I actually wrote out a letter of delegation to Mr. Browder I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you do not remember; you could have done it or you could not have done it?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly that is so. I knew he was in China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen that book [handing book to witness]?

Mr. FOSTER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a book entitled "Civil War in Nationalist China," by Earl Browder, published by Labor Unity Publishing

Association, Chicago, 1927. On page 9 of this book Mr. Browder says:

The International Workers' delegation was composed of Tom Mann, chairman of the National Minority Movement of England and one of the oldest leaders of the British trade unions; Jacques Doriot, member of the French Parliament, elected by the workers of Paris; myself representing the Trade Union Educational League of America; and Sydor Stoler, who acted as secretary and translator to the delegation.

Does that refresh your recollection, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are now quite certain?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but I did not ever issue any credentials; I understand that was a Profintern delegation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Profintern was the international body with which the Trade Union Educational League was affiliated?

Mr. FOSTER. I think the delegation was organized by it; I do not know; I did not organize it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the Profintern. When Mr. Browder says he represented your organization, precisely what does that signify?

Mr. FOSTER. That would signify precisely that he was one of the leaders of our organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whether he had credentials or not?

Mr. FOSTER. Or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that not a matter of consequence?

Mr. FOSTER. Not a formal matter; if he was going in such a delegation he would be authorized to speak in the name of the organization because he was one of the leaders of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you apprised of the work of Mr. Browder in China, after his return from that country?

Mr. FOSTER. He wrote that pamphlet, and I knew in general what he was working on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he not report to you formally or informally, as the representative of the Trade Union Educational League, of which you were the head, anything concerning his activities there?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, perhaps some general report; I do not recall. The main thing I remember was his pamphlet, covering his experiences out there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say perhaps. Are you not sure he must have reported to you something of the work he had done in China?

Mr. FOSTER. Undoubtedly he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the circumstances of his departure from China?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He undoubtedly must have reported those circumstances to you; is not that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know his circumstances in leaving China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he return from China directly, across the Pacific Ocean, or did he return via Siberia and Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. He has not answered as to whether or not Browder reported to him as to the reason he left China. Do you recall whether he made any such report to you?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not remember any such report.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not natural to suppose he would have done so?

Mr. FOSTER. It does not follow. He reported in a general way what transpired in China.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had a man representing you in certain sections of the world, and then he left that employment, would it not be logical for him to report to you why he left?

Mr. FOSTER. He made a report; I do not remember precisely what his report was. I do not remember what steamer he took.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you for those little details.

Mr. FOSTER. Or what route he took.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not suggesting that. I am asking you the broad question, whether or not, when he left China as the representative of your organization he ever reported to you as to why he left China?

Mr. FOSTER. He did not report to me; I think he reported to Profintern, who sent him there.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not report to you?

Mr. FOSTER. In a very general way.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Profintern pay his expenses to China?

Mr. FOSTER. That I could not say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you pay his expenses to China?

Mr. FOSTER. I think not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you be more definite about that?

Mr. FOSTER. I think I am positive about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you did not pay his expenses as a representative of the Trade Union Educational League, could there have been any other reasonable way in which he received his expenses than from the Profintern?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say; I do not know. You would have to ask him that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have asked him that. Under what name did Mr. Browder travel on this mission representing your organization and the Profintern on this trip?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no idea beyond his own name, Mr. Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you sure that he traveled under his own name?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not sure of that one way or the other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he not say he did not travel under the name of Earl Browder on that trip?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not familiar with precisely what the facts of the financing of Mr. Browder's trip to China were, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that not a matter of discussion in the central committee of the Communist Party, of which you were at that time an active member?

Mr. FOSTER. It may have been; I do not attend all the meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If it had been discussed would you not have found out about it if you had not been there?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily. I was on the road for many months and did not know about those things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If there had been extraordinary circumstances around that discussion you would have been told, would you not, in view of your close connection with this whole proposition?

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily. I was not the secretary of the party and many things were done without my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were secretary of the organization which Mr. Browder says he was representing in China?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear about the \$10,000 bill that was associated with Mr. Browder's trip to China?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never heard anything about that \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Never heard about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know that Lozorsky sent a \$10,000 American bill to the United States to be transmitted via this country to Browder in China?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not know anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard directly or indirectly that Mr. Browder had had considerable difficulty in getting that \$10,000 bill exchanged into smaller denominations in the Orient?

Mr. FOSTER. I heard it rumored around that he had difficulty in China; I heard that about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That he had difficulty in getting a \$10,000 bill exchanged into smaller denominations?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know what it was; I heard there was some difficulty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you hear rumored about?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you heard it rumored around; that is, that he had some difficulty in getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I said I heard it rumored around that he had some difficulty in China.

The CHAIRMAN. In getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. The details I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking for details. What you heard was that he had some difficulty in getting the \$10,000 bill changed?

Mr. FOSTER. I had heard that there were some charges made by enemies of our party along these lines. That is all I heard about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the rumor you heard?

Mr. FOSTER. That is exactly it.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty were you talking about?

Mr. FOSTER. Precisely these charges.

The CHAIRMAN. Difficulty is not connected with charges.

Mr. FOSTER. Sometimes it makes lots of difficulties.

The CHAIRMAN. You just testified you heard it rumored around that he had some difficulty. You say what you meant was charges by enemies of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty grew out of the charges made by the enemies?

Mr. FOSTER. I did not have any difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. What difficulty did you have in mind when you referred to difficulty?

Mr. FOSTER. I say these charges can make difficulties for our party and for individuals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean to say that that was a charge of the enemies of the party.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all it was, just like I have heard lots of charges in this commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is not responsive. Did you not hear by rumors or otherwise, that Mr. Browder eventually took a trip to Manila in order to get this \$10,000 changed?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard, by rumors or otherwise, that Mr. Browder entered a bank in Manila and tried to get the \$10,000 bill changed; that the bank teller told him he would change it, but that he would have to leave it overnight; that he would receipt for it; and that meanwhile the bank would cable the United States Treasury, giving the serial number, and that upon receiving that advice from the bank teller Mr. Browder grabbed the \$10,000 bill and rushed out of the bank and fled from Manila?

Mr. FOSTER. That is all news to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that the Profintern closed up the entire apparatus of the China work because Mr. Browder went into a panic?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that, not a thing about it. That is the first I heard of such a statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that there is a record of this in the Treasury Department?

Mr. FOSTER. There are many records in the Treasury Department that are not correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then this cablegram from the bank in Manila was forged?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not put a great deal of trust in banks, as a rule.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you heard rumors?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But what were the rumors you heard? What was it the enemies circulated?

Mr. FOSTER. I would have to look up their papers at the time. They criticized Browder very severely. They criticized Browder very severely for his whole China trip.

The CHAIRMAN. What did his enemies say about this \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know. They just generally attacked the trip and made all sorts of assertions, and that is as far as I know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But they did say something about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know whether they actually mentioned the \$10,000 bill or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were being questioned about a \$10,000 bill, and you said you heard rumors that he had some difficulties, and later on you said that what you meant was that you heard charges by enemies; now, do you mean that those charges did not have anything to do with the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not mean that at all. They made all sorts of charges against Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. Including this charge about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. That I could not say specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say it at all, if you cannot say it specifically?

Mr. FOSTER. No. I cannot say that that was included in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Mr. Browder was reprimanded by the Profintern for mistakes made in China?

Mr. FOSTER. Also not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that he admitted those mistakes, in writing, in an issue of the Communist?

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The official organ of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. It is possible. We often admit mistakes. There is hardly a campaign we conduct anywhere but what we criticize ourselves for mistakes made in it. It is quite possible he criticized himself with regard to his work in China.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, it is not very enlightening to have most of the questions answered by saying that it is possible. If the witness knows——

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer whether you know or not. If you do not know, say, "I do not know." If you do know, say, "I know."

Mr. FOSTER. I say it is very distinctly the practice of Communists in speaking about their work in any sphere of activity to criticize themselves and point out the mistakes. This is a fundamental principle of our work, and I dare say if Mr. Browder wrote about his activities in China, he would criticize himself.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The question is whether Mr. Foster knows, of his own knowledge, firsthand, that Mr. Browder did publish an acknowledgment of the mistakes made in his work in China.

Mr. FOSTER. I say I have no direct knowledge of it. But if he did it, it would be quite in line with that practice.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is if you have knowledge. You do not have any knowledge?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. He says he has no knowledge.

Mr. FOSTER. It may very easily have been.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you would not know, of course, that the mistake which was acknowledged was the mistake of becoming panicky about the \$10,000 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I would not know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, I will ask you please to identify some of your publications. Is that a book written by you? [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the title of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The book is entitled, "Mis-Leaders of Labor" by William Z. Foster, published by the Trade Union Educational League in 1927.

The CHAIRMAN. He identifies that as his book.

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Towards Soviet America," by William Z. Foster, published by Coward-McCann in 1932. [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote it.

The CHAIRMAN. He identifies that as his book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this one? [Handing book to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. "From Bryan to Stalin." I wrote it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Published by International Publishers in 1937. Is this also one of yours? [Handing to witness.]

Mr. FOSTER. I wrote that also. "Your Questions Answered."

Mr. MATTHEWS. By William Z. Foster, published by the Workers Library Publishers, June 1939.

Mr. Foster, are you acquainted with the connections of the American Communist Party with the Communist International? You are, are you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Fairly well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are acquainted with the program of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are acquainted with the statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Not so well, the statutes. They are more or less in abeyance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by more or less in abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. The statutes I have not read since they were formulated many years ago, so I cannot say that I am very familiar with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did they go into abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I know, they never went into active operation. If I remember correctly, they were adopted in 1935, but if I was to be executed, I could not tell you a single article of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not correct that they were adopted by the Sixth World Congress in 1928?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the American Communist Party a section or an affiliate of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is an affiliate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you explain why the American Communist Party, through its regular publishing channels, has brought out several editions of the statutes of the Communist International if those statutes are in abeyance?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, we publish such material, official material of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Official material?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; that is, official statutes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are the official statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In force today?

Mr. FOSTER. I told you they were more or less in abeyance as far as the practice is concerned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not quite understand myself what would be official statutes that would also be something in abeyance. Are they or are they not the official statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. They were adopted, you just told me, in 1928, so they must be the official statutes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have they ever been rescinded by the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. They were, as I recollect, revised in the Seventh World Congress and have more or less fallen into abeyance from lack of application.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were a delegate to the Sixth World Congress and also to the Seventh World Congress, were you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you participate in the deliberations fully?

Mr. FOSTER. But not in that section, not in the formulation of the constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that the Seventh World Congress in 1935 revised these statutes of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. As I recollect, I am not positive, I think there were certain modifications made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would not be sure that there were any modifications?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I would not be sure, because we have paid so little attention to the constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know as a matter of fact that not a single word, or even so much as the punctuation was changed by the Seventh World Congress?

Mr. FOSTER. Quite possible. I was under the impression—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you think they were revised, then?

Mr. FOSTER. Because usually in conventions they do tinker with constitutions. That is quite a regular procedure in my experience.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear that they were revised?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I did not hear they were revised. I just assumed possibly they might have been revised, and that is what I said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it is also possible that they were not revised?

Mr. FOSTER. Very possible, especially as you say they were not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the American Communist Party ever taken the position in its publications that the statutes of the Communist International are in force?

Mr. FOSTER. That I would not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the chairman of the party and you would not know such an important matter as that?

Mr. FOSTER. We do not consider that very important, about the statutes of the Comintern.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not consider it important?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are the chairman of the party; and you are not able to tell this committee whether in your official literature you recognize that the statutes of the Comintern are in force.

Mr. FOSTER. Formally they are in force, but in actual practice we never consult the constitution of the Comintern. As I said, I have not even opened the pages of it since it was written, and I could not tell you a single article in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of a single instance in which the Communist Party has violated any of the statutes of the Comintern?

Mr. FOSTER. And been called to account for it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance at all in which they have violated the statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not recollect that the question was ever raised in the history of the Communist Party.



The CHAIRMAN. It never has been raised by the Comintern, has it?

Mr. FOSTER. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. And never has been raised by anyone in the party in the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. That I would not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as far as you know.

Mr. FOSTER. It has never been raised to my knowledge by the Communist International; oh, there may have been somebody here or there that said such a thing was in violation of the constitution of the Comintern, but certainly nobody ever paid any attention to it.

Mr. VOORHIS. If the American Party had ever violated any provision of the constitution of the Comintern, it certainly is true that the Comintern would have spoken up about it, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Our relations with the Communist International have been more or less developed on the basis of practice, not constitutions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder testified that if there were any point of disagreement between the American Party and the Comintern, it would be necessary for the American Party either to give up their point of disagreement or else to withdraw from the Comintern.

Mr. FOSTER. If the Communist International would raise a question of fundamental policy, of course, this would be raised; but the Comintern has never raised questions of organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is because you have never had a disagreement, is it not?

Mr. FOSTER. I would not say that. We do not use the constitution as a guide. How can I tell whether we have had a disagreement, if I have never opened it?

Mr. VOORHIS. The point is, if the Comintern had ever raised such a question, you certainly would have known it, would you not?

Mr. FOSTER. Over questions of the constitution?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; or any other questions of policy.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; it is very likely I should have known it, although I have not attended all the meetings.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you not inevitably have known about it, if you had attended meetings or not? Would it not be the most important matter that would come before the party in years, if such a thing had happened?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all. I told you the constitution of the Comintern plays such a little role, I have never even read it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Browder's testimony was to the effect that if there was a divergence of opinion between the American Party and the Comintern, the American Party would either have to recede or withdraw from the Comintern, one of the two.

Mr. FOSTER. I think if you would read the minutes or the records of your commission, you would find that he was speaking about politics and not constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. You make a distinction there between politics and the constitution.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, you stated a moment ago that the statutes of the Communist International were formerly in force.

Mr. FOSTER. Formally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said they were in force, and that would make the matter all the stronger, if you said formerly.

Mr. FOSTER. I said formally--f-o-r-m-a-l-l-y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are formally in force now?

Mr. FOSTER. I assume so. I have never heard of them being formally abolished, so apparently they are still on paper at least. They are honored more in the breach than in the observance, I would suspect.

The CHAIRMAN. They are honored more in the breach than in the observance, is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, in the neglect, at least.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us a single instance in which the statutes of the Comintern have been violated by the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. I could not, because I have not read it for 12 or 14 years; I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the chairman and you do not know of a single instance in which there has been a single violation of the statutes?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated that the role of the constitution of the Comintern plays such a little part, I cannot say whether it was violated or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the program of the Communist International which is usually printed under the same covers with the statutes of the Communist International? What binding effect has the program of the Communist International on the constituent parties of the International?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a general statement of Communist principles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it considered highly important?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, as a general statement of policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You consider it a guide to general policy?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it not as a guide to general policy sometimes ranked alongside the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It has never been so ranked?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, somebody may have said that, but I do not think that is the general opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never made that statement?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think I have; maybe; one says many things. I think generally, though, it is not so ranked.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have in your writings quoted extensively from the program of the Communist International, have you not?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were not concerned lest you leave the impression that they had some binding character, were you?

Mr. FOSTER. As general principles, yea; but not as a controlling document for immediate political situations in the given countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you accept the general policy set forth in the program of the Communist International?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

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Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Foster, when the pact was signed between Germany and Russia it certainly brought about a complete change in the line of the Communist Party in America insofar as the

policy was concerned, did it not? I mean, insofar as the line of the party with regard to what it should do in the United States was concerned, what the general attitude in the United States should be on the foreign conflict; that was changed by that event, was it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I will answer that question.

The policy of the Communist Party regarding the question of war was based upon the slogan, "Keep America out of war by keeping the world out of war."

And we undertook to put that slogan into effect by advocating that the United States join with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, and the other democracies to make a united peace front to hold fascism in check.

This policy did not succeed because of the failure of Chamberlain and Daladier to agree to this general line insofar as the Soviet Union was concerned.

That changed the policy of directing it, trying to direct the attack against the Soviet Union, of this whole policy——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I mean, so far as the United States is concerned.

Mr. FOSTER. I will speak about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Insofar as Chamberlain and Daladier is concerned——

Mr. FOSTER (interposing). The United States, of course, did not follow this general line.

It is true that the Roosevelt administration issued certain statements to the general effect that they do favor forming a more firm policy against Japan and Germany, but certainly could not go into such a policy in a collective sense.

Now then, we hold that this policy did not succeed; it broke down, and so the Communist Party now works upon this slogan; we have reduced the slogan from "Keep America out of war by keeping the world out of war" to having it read "Keep America out of war."

Mr. VOORHIS. But the significant fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as a firm cooperator with Britain and France; it is now a cooperator with Germany so that it necessarily, basically changes the attitude of the American Communist Party of the United States in what it should do now, and I wanted to know if you were consulted about that matter before the thing was determined upon.

Mr. FOSTER. First of all, as I said, the Soviet Union is not cooperating with the Nazi Government. The Soviet Union has stopped Hitler in the East, and every serious political thinker in the world realizes that fact at the present time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has stopped Hitler?

Mr. FOSTER. Has stopped Hitler in the east and has smashed the Fascist axis, and even the most conservative political leaders of the United States all realize that fact at the present moment.

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The CHAIRMAN. If there was war between Russia and the United States, where would your allegiance lie? Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. FOSTER. I refuse to accept "if" questions as a determining factor. I will say this. I am for the defense of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you that.

**Mr. FOSTER.** I am answering your question. I cannot be put on a "yes" or "no" answer to such a question.

I am for the defense of the United States and the maintenance of its national independence within a democratic system, and the development of democratic systems in the world, the establishment of socialism in the United States, and so, insofar as it goes, in a war against any country, I will not blindly walk into that war, but will examine what is involved in the war and decide my personal conduct accordingly.

If it is an imperialist war against some other country, I will not support it.

**The CHAIRMAN.** In other words, if the United States entered the present war, you would not support the United States?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Not an imperialist war.

**The CHAIRMAN.** I say, in the present war that is existing—you know there is a war?

**Mr. FOSTER.** I have heard about it.

**The CHAIRMAN.** If the United States entered the war, would you support the United States?

**Mr. FOSTER.** If the United States entered this war on an imperialist basis, I would not support it.

**The CHAIRMAN.** In other words, if the United States entered this war as an ally of France and England, you would not support the United States?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Under the present set-up I would say that is an imperialist war, and the workers have no interest in it, and I would speak against it.

**The CHAIRMAN.** You would not support the United States?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Not in such a war.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Do you regard it as a paramount duty of a Communist to defend the Soviet Union?

**Mr. FOSTER.** It depends on what you mean by defend.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Is not that the slogan of the party?

**Mr. FOSTER.** There are many ways to defend.

**The CHAIRMAN.** You have heard that stated, that the paramount duty is to defend the fatherland, the Soviet Union, have you not?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Yes.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Is that correct?

**Mr. FOSTER.** That is correct, but it depends on what you mean by defend.

**The CHAIRMAN.** What did you mean by that when you used it?

**Mr. FOSTER.** We use the term "defend" for many explanations, explanations of policy.

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**The CHAIRMAN.** As chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, if the United States entered this present war—which you say is an imperialistic war—on the side of France and England, would the Communist Party support the United States Government?

**Mr. FOSTER.** First of all, the Communist Party would take up the question and discuss it and would take a stand accordingly.

**The CHAIRMAN.** What is your opinion as chairman of the Communist Party; would it support the United States Government?

**Mr. FOSTER.** I stated——

**The CHAIRMAN.** You stated your personal opinion.

**Mr. FOSTER.** I stated my personal opinion, and I would certainly advocate that in the party.

**The CHAIRMAN.** And you think that would prevail, don't you?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well, we would see.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Well, if it did not prevail it would be the first time in which the Communist Party did not follow the party line?

**Mr. FOSTER.** It would not be the first time it did not follow my line.

**The CHAIRMAN.** I am not asking you about "your line"; I am talking about the party line.

**Mr. FOSTER.** It would not be the party line until they adopted it; just because I advocated it would not make it the party line.

**The CHAIRMAN.** I understand that; but I say if they did not follow the party line, it would be the first time they did not do so?

**Mr. FOSTER.** After they work out the party line, they would follow it, of course.

**The CHAIRMAN.** That party line has to be worked out by the Comintern, as well as the Communist Party of the United States, don't it?

**Mr. FOSTER.** No; the American party would settle that question.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Independent of the Comintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Yes; independent of the Comintern.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Have you ever settled any question regarding the party line independent of the Comintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Tens of thousands.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Independent of the Comintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Independent, of course; every day; every day, on every question that comes along, we make settlements.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Every day—can you cite a single instance where any decision of the Communist Party finally taken has conflicted with the decision of the Comintern?

**Mr. FOSTER.** Well, no; I cannot—no major decision.

In testimony given before this committee on September 5, 1939, Browder declared that the CPUSA had at least occasionally ignored the Constitution of the Communist International "on organizational questions," though never on political ones (this section, exhibit No. 19). Apparently, the National Committee of the CPUSA felt that occasional disregard of the Constitution of the Communist International would not excuse the party from the obligation of registering under the Voorhis Act. Browder's explanation of the party's disaffiliation from the Comintern must be ranked among the better examples of Aesopian doubletalk.

#### EXHIBIT No. 21

[*World News and Views*, October 30, 1940. Pp. 691-692]

#### THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Voorhis Act forces the Communist Party in the U. S. A. to disaffiliate from the Communist International. Earl Browder puts the issues to a special convention of the Party's National Committee which reaffirms loyalty to working class internationalism. A cable from New York.

A Special Convention of the National Committee of the Communist Party in the U. S. A. has voted to cancel its organisational affiliation

to the Communist International to meet the requirements of the Voorhis "Blacklist" Act so that it can continue to struggle against the involvement of the U. S. A. in the imperialist war.

In taking this decision the Convention reaffirmed the Party's loyalty to working-class internationalism.

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Party, reported on the issues involved and submitted in the name of the National Committee the proposal that the Party cancel its organisational link with the International.

The Voorhis Act, Browder explained, which comes into force on January 19, forces all organisations with international affiliations to submit to "Blacklist" regulations at the discretion of the United States Attorney General. This act, he said, is "designed to coerce the people into submission to the entry of the United States into the imperialist war."

To the principles of internationalism, he said, "the life of every Communist is unconditionally consecrated. For this principle we will whenever necessary gladly give our lives for it is that which gives life its meaning, makes it proud, heroic and worth living and is the only guarantee for the whole future of humanity."

"Can the Communist Party of the United States," he asked, "fight most effectively for this principle on conditions of continued, though harassed and precarious, legality bought at the price of temporary and unwilling dissolution of its present international affiliation with our brother parties in the Communist International? Or can we fight most effectively by defying this shameful reactionary and unconstitutional law and accept whatever consequences may flow from such a course?"

The National Committee of the Party had given the most profound and heart-searching thought to this question.

"If such a step should be in any way a surrender to or a strengthening of any tendencies to surrender or weakness among the broad membership of our Party," he declared, "we would reject the step of disaffiliation at once and without hesitation.

"If such a step should cause us to waver and vacillate in carrying the full message of working-class internationalism to the broadest masses of the American workers we would condemn it out of hand and without further thought.

"Working-class internationalism, the development of a common understanding of their problems of life and peace by the workers and toiling masses of every country overriding all national boundaries and out of this common understanding the forging of common and interrelated policies and action—this is the only way out of the bloody catastrophe of imperialist war, this is the only way to peace, this the only road to the future for humanity."

To ignore or defy the Act, he went on, would probably result in the same sort of outlawing and hunting down of Communists which in France was done directly and without any camouflage as the prelude to the shameful and catastrophic capitulation of the country to the Nazis.

"If the time comes when the American people and the American Communists cannot avoid going through an American variant of the French tragedy, we Communists of the New World will not flinch from the test," he continued.

"We can feel calmly confident that we will hold up the high honour of proletarian internationalism in the spirit and tradition of our national heroes, Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Debs, Ruthenberg and Haywood, and in the higher spirit and tradition of our international teachers and exemplars Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of the Russian Bolsheviks, of Dimitrov, of the Spanish, Chinese, German and French Communists, of the best Communists of all the world.

"The American Communists will always have those qualities necessary to keep the name of our country high on the international roll of honour."

Browder then went on to ask whether the Voorhis Act represents such a definite degree of fascisation of America that it leaves the Communist Party no choice between capitulation or illegality.

That, maybe, was the intention behind this Administrative edict, he said, but "we withhold such a conclusion until it is forced upon us."

As an example to be understood he pointed to Britain "where after more than fourteen months of war and several months of horrible air bombardments the Communist Party of Great Britain still functions as a legal Party with its M. P., Willie Gallacher, in the House of Commons."

"War hysteria," Browder went on, "has not overwhelmed it into illegality despite all the restrictions of wartime under a bourgeois government."

The following resolution, proposed by Browder, was then unanimously adopted by the Convention:

That the Communist Party of the United States in Convention assembled does hereby cancel and dissolve its organisational affiliation to the Communist International as well as any and all other bodies of any kind outside the boundaries of the United States of America, for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act which has been enacted and goes into effect on January 19, 1941, which law would otherwise tend to destroy and would destroy the position of the Communist party as the legal and open party of the American working class;

that the Convention denounces the Voorhis Act as harmful and destructive of the democratic rights of the people, as designed to coerce the people into submission to the entry of the United States into the imperialist war, and as part of the sweep of fascisation over the capitalist world;

that the Convention pledges the Party to work untiringly to secure the repeal of this law to the end that Labour and our Party shall be secure and unmolested in its sacred rights of international affiliation of all workers which, in the words of Lincoln, express 'the strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relationship';

that the Convention reaffirms the unshakeable adherence of our Party to the principles of proletarian internationalism in the spirit of its greatest leaders and teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which offers the only road to the future for suffering humanity;

that the Convention formally and officially declares that the Communist Party of the United States is responsible for no political document, policy, book, article or other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by itself through its regularly constituted leadership on the basis of the Eleventh National Convention deliberations and decisions, etc., of this present special Convention;

that the Convention does now elect a sub-committee to consider the constitution and bylaws of the Communist Party of the United States as adopted at the Tenth National Convention and bring back to this Convention recommendations for such amendments, changes or relations which shall most effectively express these basic decisions in such constitution and bylaws.

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Some of the problems which confronted the CPUSA during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact are outlined in the following *Pravda* editorial. It is obvious that the Kremlin masters did not find the work of this committee to their liking.

## EXHIBIT No. 22

[*World News and Views*, February 24, 1940. P. 122]

## UNITED STATES—ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES

**IZVESTIA** writes in part:

The unsuccessful attempt of the reactionaries who participated in the convention of the *Youth Congress* held in Washington to expel the Communists from the Congress is only one of many episodes in the attack of American reaction on democratic liberties. During the past year, and particularly during the past few months, reactionary forces in the U. S. A. are showing unusual activity. The lifting of the embargo on arms export which opened the way for enormous Anglo-French war orders, gave rise almost to a war boom in the U. S. A.—to a situation favouring large profits. And just as twenty years ago the working class is standing in the way of these profits of the capitalist magnates who are striving to draw the U. S. A. into a new war. The abusive tone of the reactionary bourgeois press, ever more frequent cases of attacks on and breaking up of workers' and Communist organisations and finally the activity of the notorious Dies Committee—all this is an indication of the activation of reaction. Senator Dies is one of the chief organisers of the struggle of American reaction against the democratic liberties.

Socialists and Trotskyites by no means play a minor role in the reaction's present campaign against democratic liberties and the rights of the working class. During the November elections in New York the leadership of the American so-called Labour Party headed a campaign against the election of Communists to the New York City Councils. At the beginning of the war this very same leadership adopted a resolution approving the present imperialist slaughter. To the American Socialists of the Norman Thomas Party and to the Trotskyist groups belongs the palm both for anti-Soviet inventions and for slandering the American Communists.

The activity of the Dies Committee especially blossomed forth since the war began in Europe. Wall Street entrusted Dies with a new task, namely, to destroy the influence of the Communist Party and the anti-war organisation on the masses and to facilitate in bringing America into the imperialist war.

But it is not a question of the Dies Committee alone. But as the *Herald Tribune* was forced to admit, there has risen over the country the spectre of lawlessness and injustice for which the constitutional rights and liberties are nothing more than a scrap of paper. The reaction is increasing pressure on the trade union organisations. The bourgeois press is openly discussing the prohibition of picketing, cutting down of unemployment relief, etc. The leaders of the yellow A.F.L. are zealously assisting in this drive. It stands to reason that this whole outburst of reactionary fury is not accidental. U.S.A. monopoly capital is preparing to involve its country in the war. The repeal of the law on the embargo of arms export is only the first step in this direction. Realising that the masses of the people by no means intend to serve as cannon-fodder for the Anglo-French bloc, American reaction is striving to "clear" its rear by its present attack on the rights and interests of the working people.



On the very day that the Nazi forces invaded the Soviet Union, the *Sunday Worker* carried an article by Louis F. Budenz condemning President Roosevelt's Fascist strike-breaking policies.<sup>1</sup> Later in the same day, every active comrade knew that the world situation had changed. By nightfall, the *Daily Worker* presses were busy rolling out Foster's petition summoning every American to the defense of the world's "greatest champion of peace, freedom, and national independence."<sup>2</sup> Roosevelt's failure to send immediate all-out assistance to the U. S. S. R. revealed his obvious intention to ignore the mandate of the Nation.<sup>3</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 23

[*World News and Views*, July 12, 1941. P. —]

## U. S. A.—A NEW WORLD SITUATION

Below are printed extracts from a manifesto unanimously adopted by the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, after a report by William Foster, the Party's chairman, on June 28.

The people of our country are facing a new world situation. The involvement of the Soviet Union in war has changed the character of the war. The glorious and mighty defence by the Red Army and the united peoples of the Soviet Union, their valiant struggle to drive out and crush the aggressor, creates an opportunity for the people of the United States and for all peoples to unite and assure the complete and final annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism.

The American people hate and abhor Fascism. They have seen for themselves that Fascism means the unrestrained oppression of the masses at home and aggressive war for conquest abroad. Before the outbreak of the war considerable numbers of American people sought to stop the Fascist aggressors by supporting the policy of collective security—the policy advanced by the Soviet Union. But the statesmen of the capitalist countries threatened by Fascist aggression, refused to accept this policy. This they did because they feared that resistance to aggression would strengthen the democratic forces of their own peoples and the position of the Soviet Union. Instead, they adopted the shameful Munich policy of appeasement, betrayal and surrender. They hoped, in this way, to divert the attack of the Fascist aggressors from themselves to the Soviet Union—the land of Socialism, the truest champion of peace and equality among the nations.

Instead of peace, the capitalist statesmen brought on war among the imperialist powers themselves for the redivisoin of the world.

The Soviet Union adopted a policy of consistent neutrality to both sides in this war and exerted all its efforts to prevent the spread of war. The stand of the Soviet Union only strengthened the conviction of the majority of the American people that this was not their war and that the United States, like the Soviet Union, should keep out of it. That is why advanced sections of the Labour Movement and of the people regarded as their main task the organisation of a people's opposition to the imperialist war and an imperialist "peace" of violence; they called for a genuine people's peace without annexations or indemnities, with full security for the national independence and freedom of all peoples.

<sup>1</sup> *Sunday Worker*, June 22, 1941, sec. II: 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Worker*, June 23, 1941, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily Worker*, June 26, 1941, p. 1.

Hitler attacked the Soviet Union because the very existence of a mighty and free Socialist State constituted a threat to his plan to enslave the peoples of the world. He attacked in hope of arousing in his support in the United States and Britain reactionary elements, to evoke again the old Munich betrayal of the peoples of Britain and America and of the countries he has enslaved in Europe. He was driven by fear of the rising people's movements in the occupied countries as well as in Germany.

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union imparts a new and sinister aspect to the menace of Hitlerism for the American people, the British people and the people of the world. It shows conclusively that German fascism is determined to continue *at all costs* its fight for world conquest, to impose upon the world a regime of complete destruction of the independence of nations and of all the elementary rights of the masses.

There can be no peace for the peoples of the world without the complete destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. Hitler Fascism stands exposed as the greatest and main enemy of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union is fighting to drive out and crush the Nazi aggressor—the hateful, imperialistic fascist dictatorship of Hitler. In this struggle the American people are by no means neutral or unconcerned. They cannot but strive for the defeat of Hitlerism. They cannot but adopt a policy that favours and gives to the Soviet Union *all support* to ensure the decisive military defeat of Hitler and Fascism.

The people of America are beginning to realise that to defend the Soviet Union means to defend the United States.

The declaration of President Roosevelt pledging all possible aid to the struggle of the Soviet Union, expresses the will of the vast majority of the American people who expect this pledge to be translated into deeds.

But the realisation of these demands is seriously endangered. It is endangered by the great influence and pressure of the most reactionary circles of the American bourgeoisie which seek to come to terms with Hitler at the expense of the most vital national interests of the American people.

Within the Roosevelt Administration itself there are those who would conciliate and compromise with the friends of Hitler and Fascism. This is a cause of greatest concern to our nation. What is needed is speedy and effective aid to the Soviet and British peoples. To bring this about the American people have to wage a determined struggle against all the treacherous influences of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. They, the American people will support every action of the Government to prosecute the struggle to defeat German Fascism and to aid the Soviet Union, and they will not fail—they must not fail—to speak out plainly against every tendency of the American Government to conciliate the enemies of the nation.

Organised labour and the whole working class are sworn enemies of reaction, Fascism and Hitlerism. In this new and critical world situation the working class therefore faces the duty of assuming leadership in the people's fight against the Fascist menace—in the fight to bring speedy and effective aid to the Soviet Union.

The true defence of the American people against its enemies at home and abroad demands a conscientious policy of steady improve-

ment of the economic standards, of the health and well being of the masses. It demands that the democratic liberties of the people be guarded, preserved, and extended. These are the basic requisites for a successful struggle to defeat German Fascism.

An end must be put to such instruments of Fascism as the Dies Committee, the school witch-hunts, the Voorhis Act, the proposed anti-strike bills, the use of troops for strike-breaking purposes, and all other restrictions of the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike. A stop must be put to the persecution of the Communist Party. There must be an end to Jim Crowism, lynching and all forms of discrimination against the Negro people. A stop must be put to the cultivation of anti-Semitism and the persecution of the foreign-born.

The chief guarantee for the successful realisation of this programme is the struggle for the United front of the working class and the unity of the American people in a genuine people's front.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of William Schneiderman, Secretary of the Communist Party in California, made the comrades very happy.<sup>1</sup> Actually, the Schneiderman decision was restricted to the technical aspects of a denaturalization proceeding. No action was taken with regard to the Smith Act.

In the Dennis case decided on June 4, 1951, the United States Supreme Court took a very definite stand with regard to that act:<sup>2</sup>

"The obvious purpose of the statute is to protect existing government, not from change by peaceable, lawful and constitutional means, but from change by violence, revolution and terrorism.

"That it is within the power of the Congress to protect the Government of the United States from armed rebellion is a proposition which requires little discussion. \* \* \*

"We reject any principle of governmental helplessness in the face of preparation for revolution, which principle, carried to its logical conclusion, must lead to anarchy. No one could conceive that it is not within the power of Congress to prohibit acts intended to overthrow the Government by force and violence.

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"Overthrow of the Government by force and violence is certainly a substantial enough interest for the Government to limit speech. Indeed, this is the ultimate value of any society, for if a society cannot protect its very structure from armed internal attack, it must follow that no subordinate value can be protected. If, then, this interest may be protected, the literal problem which is presented is what has been meant by the use of the phrase "clear and present danger" of the utterances bringing about the evil within the power of Congress to punish.

"Obviously, the words cannot mean that before the Government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid and the signal is awaited. If Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstance permit, action by the Government is required.

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"Certainly an attempt to overthrow the Government by force, even though doomed from the outset because of inadequate numbers or power of the revolutionists, is a sufficient evil for Congress to prevent.

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"The mere fact that, from the period 1945 to 1948, petitioners' activities did not result in an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence is, of course, no answer to the fact that there was a group that was ready to make the attempt."

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> *U. S. v. Dennis et al.*, 341 U. S. 404 (1951).

## EXHIBIT No. 24

[*World News and Views*, July 24, 1943. P. 236]

## AMERICAN LIBERTY

The Supreme Court of the United States recently passed judgment in a case of historic interest. That judgment upheld the best traditions of American liberty. The case was that of William Schneiderman. Schneiderman came to the United States from Russia at the age of three in 1907. In 1922 he joined the Young Workers' (now Communist) League, and in 1925 he became a member of the Workers' (now Communist) Party. In January, 1927, he filed an application for United States citizenship, and in June of that year his certificate of citizenship was issued to him. Everything was all right till 1941, when his citizenship was revoked on the grounds that he belonged to an organisation seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. Mr. Wendell Willkie became interested in the case, and when the decision went against Schneiderman in the lower courts, took the case to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court held "that the naturalized citizen William Schneiderman is entitled to his Communist beliefs as much as other citizens are privileged to support Panamericanism or the League of Nations," and reversed the judgment of the lower courts.

Wendell Willkie declared: "I have always felt confident as to how the Supreme Court would decide a case involving such fundamental human rights." Earl Browder, saying that the decision was a victory for American democracy and national unity, expressed appreciation for Wendell Willkie's "selfless devotion to the public interest," which led him to carry the case to the Supreme Court.

The judgment, among other things, declared that the court was concerned with what Congress meant by certain statutes. "While it is our high duty to carry out the will of Congress, in the performance of this duty we should have a jealous regard for the rights of the petitioner. We should let our judgment be guided so far as the law permits by the spirit of freedom and tolerance in which our nation was founded, and by a desire to secure the blessing of liberty in thought and action to all those upon whom the right of American citizenship has been conferred by statute, as well as to the native born."

The judgement noted that "The constitutional fathers, fresh from a revolution, did not force a political straitjacket for the generations to come," and had made provisions for constitutional amendment. It rejected the opinion that the Communists' desire to nationalise the means of production and exchange was offensive to the clauses about property in the Constitution, asking: "Can it be said that the authors of the Emancipation Proclamation (which was made by Lincoln and set free the slaves) . . . were not attached to the Constitution. We conclude that lack of attachment to the Constitution is not shown on the basis of the changes which the petitioner testified he desired in the Constitution."

As for the charge of desiring to overthrow the Government by force and violence, the judgment quotes Marx, Lenin and Stalin on the question, as well as the clauses of the constitution of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. It notes Lenin's statement that "in order to

obtain the power of the state the class-conscious workers must win the majority to their side. . . . We are not blanquists, we are not in favour of the seizure of power by a minority." The judgment does not make a definite decision on this matter, but states: "A tenable conclusion from the foregoing is that the Party . . . desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing a forcible counter-overthrow once the Party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a measure of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time, because of peculiar circumstances, constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

As there were no overt acts to warrant any other interpretation than this, there was not the requisite "clear, unequivocal and convincing" evidence for setting aside the naturalisation decree.

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While the Duclos letter condemning the bourgeois proclivities of the Communist Political Association of the United States will serve as exhibit No. 1 of the documents dealing with the postwar period, it is appropriately included at this point. Just as the recent Khrushchev accusations against Stalin's cruelty and insanity left the American Communist leaders confused and speechless, so also did the Duclos letter call for weeks of carefully concealed soul searching at party headquarters in New York City.<sup>1</sup>

Back in 1945, Earl Browder served as the Communist sacrificial victim. By the time this report is published, new scapegoats may have been indicated—from among those who drove Browder out into the desert of private, "unofficial" collaboration with the Kremlin.

In 1945, a French comrade put the "independent" Communist Political Association back on the correct Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist road to Socialist construction.<sup>2</sup> Much more recently, Khrushchev took over where Stalin left off. Apparently, Stalin had grown too conservative in his old age (foreword to pt. I). Today the American comrades must return to the original Leninist doctrines of world revolution as modified by Leninist use of deceit and subterfuge (sec. A, exhibits Nos. 9, 10; sec. C, exhibits Nos. 1-7).

In his foreword to Duclos' letter, Earl Browder conceded in typical Aesopian language that the victory of the Soviet Union over Nazi Germany made collaboration with the class enemy no longer necessary. Now the "crisis" could be "sharpened" against new foes—i. e., against the freedom-loving nations of the world and, in particular, against the United States. Once more, the CPUSA had to return to the true course of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist antagonism and conflict.

#### EXHIBIT No. 24A

[*Daily Worker*, May 24, 1945. Pp. 7-9]

#### A FOREWORD TO THE ARTICLE OF JACQUES DUCLOS

By Earl Browder

*Editor-in-Chief of the Daily Worker and President of the Communist Political Association*

The *Daily Worker* is publishing herewith an extended article, just received, dealing with the position of America in its world relations and some theoretical issues of Marxism raised by the policy pursued by the American Communists. The author is one of the main leaders of the Communist Party of France whose policy for its own country is unquestionably sound and most recently registered pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Budenz, *My Story*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>2</sup> See the entire July 1945 issue of *Political Affairs*. Also Robert G. Neumann (UCLA), *European and Comparative Government*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1955, p. 611.

success in the French municipal elections. Unquestionably, while this is the personal article of Jacques Duclos, it reflects the general trend of opinion of European Marxists in relation to America, and thus demands our most respectful consideration.

Since the American Communists severed their organizational connection with the Communist International in 1940, and especially since the Communist International was itself dissolved in 1943, there has been no institution through which American Marxists could counsel with the Marxists of all lands on the multitude of questions which are essentially international in character, whether these be theoretical problems or involving an estimate of the world relation of forces. Inevitably, under the new conditions, different judgments were made by the Marxists of different countries on some questions; of this we are now presented with a very sharply-expressed example in the article of Duclos.

We therefore are faced with the necessity of conducting our discussions through the press which, under the tradition of freedom of communication and the press, is our chief available substitute for organized consultation, inadequate as it may be. We can only welcome the initiative of Jacques Duclos in utilizing this channel of international discussion.

It has been clear at all times that the end of the war in Europe would require a fundamental review of all problems by American Marxists. We must estimate our past work, and face the tasks of the future. We must make the most careful inventory, balance our political books, and know clearly how we stand as we enter a new period of sharpening struggles, crisis, and profound changes. The article of Duclos may conveniently provide a starting point for this fundamental review, which the CPA leadership had independently begun some time ago upon the basis of accumulating threats against the unity of the great coalition.

The framework of this discussion is that it takes place within the Communist Political Association, as an autonomous American organization without affiliation with any other organization, and is conducted through its own established channels and according to its own rules. The CPA will make its own decisions after its own discussions, taking into account all available information and opinions that seem pertinent.

Our enemies will raise a gleeful clamor to greet the open discussion of difference of opinion between Communists of different lands and between Communists within America. Some will shout that it marks the disintegration of the Communists, others that it is the re-emergence of the Communist International, and all will use the occasion to heap slander upon us and spread as much confusion as possible.

We have learned through years of experience to ignore such enemy attacks, knowing that the conclusion of our discussions is always a more solid unity of the Communists. In this we differ from the bourgeoisie. We recall, for example, the bitter exchange of polemics between the British and American press at the turn of the year, which ended not in a resolution of the deep cleavage thus revealed, but in covering it up again unresolved. Or the example of the deep split in the American bourgeoisie itself over Roosevelt's line of policy, a split that grows deeper the more it is discussed amongst them. Discussions among Communists, on the contrary, always lead to clarity, to agreement, and to unity of purpose and action.

Within the framework of the CPA organization, and according to its rules, the discussion initiated by the publication of Duclos' article will be free in the fullest sense. Members of the National Board and National Committee will participate in the discussion as individuals, and not as members of these leading bodies bound to speak for common conclusions already reached before the broadest discussion.

The National Committee will meet to draw conclusions after a period of discussion sufficient to crystallize the basic Marxist understanding of the CPA membership, and at that time undertake to focus this understanding into a clear perspective for the coming period of new storms.

The National Board of the CPA at its next meeting, which was to review some of the recent developments and the tasks which flow from them, will undoubtedly also give its evaluation of the main questions raised by Duclos. Results of the meeting will be published in the *Daily Worker* immediately upon its conclusion.

All practical work now under way in the labor and progressive movement should continue along established lines. Let no one speculate on the conclusions of the discussion before they have been registered. Now is a testing time for the integrity, understanding and maturity of the CPA and of each member.

#### ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

By Jacques Duclos

*Reprinted from the April issue of Cahiers du Communisme, theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France.*

Many readers of *Cahiers du Communisme* have asked us for clarification on the dissolution of the Communist Party of the USA and the creation of the Communist Political Association.

We have received some information on this very important political event, and thus we can in full freedom give our opinion on the political considerations which were advanced to justify the dissolution of the Communist Party.

The reason for dissolution of the Communist Party in the USA and for the "new course" in the activity of American Communists are set forth in official documents of the Party and in a certain number of speeches of its former secretary, Earl Browder.

In his speech devoted to the results of the Teheran Conference and the political situation in the United States, delivered Dec. 12, 1943, in Bridgeport and published in the Communist magazine in January, 1944, Earl Browder for the first time discussed the necessity of changing the course of the CPUSA.

The Teheran Conference served as Browder's point of departure from which to develop his conceptions favorable to a change of course in the American CP. However, while justly stressing the importance of the Teheran Conference for victory in the war against fascist Germany, Earl Browder drew from the Conference decisions erroneous conclusions in no wise flowing from a Marxist analysis of the situation. Earl Browder made himself the protagonist of a false concept of the ways of social evolution in general, and in the first place, the social evolution of the U. S.

Earl Browder declared, in effect, that at Teheran capitalism and socialism had begun to find the means of peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the framework of one and the same world; he added that the Teheran accords regarding common policy similarly presupposed common efforts with a view to reducing to a minimum or completely suppressing methods of struggle and opposition of force to force in the solution of internal problems of each country.

"That (the Teheran Declaration) is the only hope of a continuance of civilization in our time. That is why I can accept and support and believe in the Declaration at Teheran and make it the starting point for all my thinking about the problems of our country and the world." (Address at Bridgeport, Conn. Dec. 12, 1943.)

Starting from the decisions of the Teheran Conference, Earl Browder drew political conclusions regarding the problems of the world, and above all the internal situation in the United States. Some of these conclusions claim that the principal problems of internal political problems of the United States must in the future be solved exclusively by means of reforms for the "expectation of unlimited inner conflict threatens also the perspective of international unity held forth at Teheran." (Teheran and America, pp. 16-17.)

The Teheran agreements mean to Earl Browder that the greatest part of Europe, west of the Soviet Union, will probably be reconstituted on a bourgeois democratic basis and not on a fascist-capitalist or Soviet basis.

But it will be a capitalist basis which is conditioned by the principle of complete democratic self-determination for each nation, allowing full expression within each nation of all progressive and constructive forces and setting up no obstacles to the development of democracy and social progress in accordance with the varying desires of the peoples. It means a perspective for Europe minimizing, and to a great extent eliminating altogether, the threat of civil war after the international war." (Bridgeport speech, Communist, January, 1944, page 7.)

And Earl Browder adds: "Whatever may be the situation in other lands, in the United States this means a perspective in the immediate postwar period of expanded production and employment and the strengthening of democracy within the framework of the present system—and not a perspective of the transition to socialism.

"We can set our goal as the realization of the Teheran policy, or we can set ourselves the task of pushing the United States immediately into socialism. Clearly, however, we cannot choose both.

"The first policy, with all its difficulties, is definitely within the realm of possible achievement. The second would be dubious, indeed, especially when we remember that even the most progressive section of the labor movement is committed to capitalism, is not even as vaguely socialistic as the British Labor Party.

"Therefore, the policy for Marxists in the United States is to face with all its consequences the perspective of a capitalist postwar reconstruction in the United States, to evaluate all plans on that basis, and to collaborate actively with the most democratic and progressive majority in the country, in a national unity sufficiently broad and effective to realize the policies of Teheran." (Teheran and America, p. 20.)

To put the Teheran policy into practice, Earl Browder considers that it is necessary to reconstruct the entire political and social life of the U. S.



**"Every class, every group, every individual, every political party in America will have to readjust itself to this great issue embodied in the policy given to us by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. The country is only beginning to face it so far. Everyone must begin to draw the conclusion from it and adjust himself to the new world that is created by it. Old formulas and old prejudices are going to be of no use whatever to us as guides to find our way in this new world. We are going to have to draw together all men and all groups with the intelligence enough to see the overwhelming importance of this issue, to understand that upon its correct solution depends the fate of our country and the fate of civilization throughout the world.**

**"We shall have to be prepared to break with anyone that refuses to support and fight for the realization of the Teheran Agreement and the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition. We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation and fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of this coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it. Class divisions or political groupings have no significance now except as they reflect one side or the other of this issue"** (Bridgeport speech, January, 1944, *Communist*, p. 8).

Browder's remark regarding Morgan provoked quite violent objections from members of the American CP. Explaining this idea to the plenary session of the central committee, Browder said that:

**"I was not making a verbal abolition of class differences, but that I was rejecting the political slogan of 'class against class' as our guide to political alignments in the next period. I spoke of Mr. Morgan symbolically as the representative of a class, and not as an individual—in which capacity I know him not at all"** (Teheran and America, p. 24).

As Browder indicates, creation of a vast national unity in the U. S. presupposes that the Communists would be a part of this. Thus, the Communist organization must conclude a long-term alliance with far more important forces. From these considerations, Browder drew the conclusion that the Communist organization in the U. S. should change its name, reject the word "party" and take another name more exactly reflecting its role, a name more in conformity, according to him, with the political traditions of America.

Earl Browder proposed to name the new organization "Communist Political Association," which, in the traditional American two-party system will not intervene as a "party," that is, it will not propose candidates in the elections, will neither enter the Democratic or Republican Party, but will work to assemble a broad progressive and democratic movement within all parties.

In his report to the plenary session of the central committee of the CPUSA, Browder spoke in detail of the economic problems of U. S. postwar national economy, and their solution on the basis of collaboration and unity of different classes. Browder indicated that American business men, industrialists, financiers, and even reactionary organizations do not admit the possibility of a new economic crisis in the U. S. after the war. On the contrary, all think that U. S. national economy after the war can preserve and maintain the same level of production as during the war.

However, the problem is in the difficulties of transition from wartime economic activity to peacetime production, and in the absorp-

tion by home and foreign markets of \$90 billions in supplementary merchandise which the American government is now buying for war needs. In this regard, Earl Browder claims that the Teheran Conference decisions make possible the overcoming of Anglo-American rivalry in the struggle for foreign outlets, and that the government of the United States, in agreement with its great Allies, and with the participation of governments of interested states, can create a series of giant economic associations for development of backward regions and war-devastated regions in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

As to extension of the home market, to permit absorption of a part of the \$90,000,000,000 worth of merchandise, Browder suggests doubling the purchasing power of the average consumer, notably by wage increases.

The new political course outlined by Browder found but few adversaries among the leading militants of the CPUSA. At the enlarged session of the political bureau of the party, those who spoke up violently against Browder were William Foster, president of the CPUSA, and Darcy, member of the central committee and secretary of the Eastern Pennsylvania district.

Foster expounded his differences with Browder in two documents—in a letter to the national committee of the CPUSA and in his introductory speech to the extraordinary session of the national committee on Feb. 8, 1944.

In these two documents, Foster criticizes Browder's theoretical theses regarding the change in the character of monopoly capital in the USA, the perspectives of postwar economic development, as well as Browder's position on the question of the Presidential elections.

In his Feb. 8 speech Foster also attacks those who, on the basis of Browder's theses, suggested that strikes be renounced in the postwar period.

But in neither one of these documents did Foster openly take a stand against the dissolution of the Communist Party.

"In his report Comrade Browder, in attempting to apply the Teheran decisions to the United States, drew a perspective of a smoothly working national unity, including the decisive sections of American finance capital, not only during the war but also in the postwar; a unit which (with him quoting approvingly from *Victory and After*), would lead to 'a rapid healing of the terrible wounds of the war' and would extend on indefinitely, in an all-class peaceful collaboration, for a 'long term of years.' In this picture, American imperialism virtually disappears, there remains hardly a trace of the class struggle, and Socialism plays practically no role whatever." (Foster Letter to Members of N. C.)

Foster violently criticized Browder because the latter while outlining a new course in the activity of the American CP, had lost sight of several of the most fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"It seems to me that Comrade Browder's rather rosey outlook for capitalism is based upon two errors. The first of these is an underestimation of the deepening of the crisis of world capitalism caused by the war. When questioned directly in Political Bureau discussion, Comrade Browder agreed that capitalism has been seriously weakened by the war, but his report would tend to give the

opposite implication. The impression is left that capitalism has somehow been rejuvenated and is now entering into a new period of expansion and growth." (Ibid).

According to Foster, world capitalism can surely count on a certain postwar boom, but it would be wrong to think that capitalism, even American capitalism, could maintain itself at the production level attained in wartime, and resolve, in a measure more or less satisfactory to the working class, the complex problems which will arise after the war.

Without diminishing the importance of the Teheran conference, Foster considered, nevertheless, that it would be an extremely dangerous illusion to think that Teheran had in any way changed the class nature of capitalism, that the Teheran conference had liquidated the class struggle, as it appears from Browder's speech. The fact that capitalism has learned to live in peace and in alliance with socialism is far from meaning that American monopoly capitalism has become progressive and that it can henceforth be unreservedly included in national unity in the struggle for the realization of the Teheran conference decisions.

"The class nature of imperialistic capitalism," Foster asserted, "is reactionary. That is why national unity with it is impossible. The furious attack of these circles against the democratic Roosevelt government—does this not supply a convincing proof? Can one doubt, after that, that the monopolist sections in the U. S. are enemies and not friends of the Teheran decisions as Earl Browder thinks?"

"The danger in this whole point of view is that, in our eagerness to secure support for Teheran, we may walk into the trap of trying to cooperate with the enemies of Teheran, or even of falling under their influence. Trailing after the big bourgeoisie is the historic error of social-democracy, and we must be vigilantly on guard against it." (Foster Letter to Members of N. C.)

Foster also criticized Browder for his attitude toward the National Association of Manufacturers, which is, in his opinion, one of the most reactionary organizations of monopoly capital in the U. S. However, Browder thought he had to approve a certain number of the economic measures of this association. He accepts its central slogan, that of "free private enterprise," which is in reality basically reactionary and contrary to the Roosevelt policy. What is more, Browder, counting on seeing workers' wages increased 100 percent after the war, invites U. S. monopolists to share his good intentions and says to them: "[You] must find the solution in order to keep their plants in operation."

"Marxists will not help the reactionaries, by opposing the slogan of 'Free Enterprise' with any form of counter-slogan. If anyone wishes to describe the existing system of capitalism in the United States as 'free enterprise,' that is all right with us, and we frankly declare that we are ready to cooperate in making this capitalism work effectively in the postwar period with the least possible burdens upon the people." (Teheran and America, p. 21.)

Further, Browder claims that national unity could no more be obtained by following a policy based on slogans aimed at the monopolies and big capital.

"Today, to speak seriously of drastic curbs on monopoly capital, leading toward the breaking of its power, and imposed upon monopoly

capital against its will, is merely another form of proposing the immediate transition to socialism. \* \* \*'' (Teheran and America, p. 23.)

In his closing speech to the plenary session of the CP central committee in January 1944, Browder tried to base himself on "theoretical" arguments to justify the change of course of the American CP. Also he expressed his concept of Marxism and its application under present conditions.

Browder thinks that by pronouncing the dissolution of the CP and creating the CPA, the American Communists are following a correct path, resolving problems which have no parallel in history and demonstrating how Marxist theory should be applied in practice.

"Marxism never was a series of dogmas and formulas; it never was a catalogue of prohibitions listing the things we must not do irrespective of new developments and new situations; it does not tell us that things cannot be done; it tells us how to do the things that have to be done, the things that history has posed as necessary and indispensable tasks. Marxism is a theory of deeds, not of don't's. Marxism is therefore a positive, dynamic, creative force, and it is such a great social power precisely because, as a scientific outlook and method, it takes living realities as its starting point. It has always regarded the scientific knowledge of the past as a basis for meeting the new and unprecedented problems of the present and the future. And the largest problems today are new in a very basic sense.

"We have more than ever the task to refresh ourselves in the great tradition of Marxism, completely freeing ourselves from the last remnants of the dogmatic and schematic approach. \* \* \*

"True, according to all of the text books of the past, we are departing from orthodoxy, because none of our text books foresaw or predicted a long period of peaceful relations in the world before the general advent of socialism." (Teheran and America, pp. 43-45.)

Citing these words of Browder's Foster declared:

"In my opinion, it would be a catastrophe for the labor movement if it accepted such a plan or such an idea, even if only provisionally. Starting from a notoriously erroneous conception, that U. S. monopoly capitalism can play a progressive role Comrade Browder looks askance at all suggestions tending to subdue the monopolies, whereas CP can accept only one policy, that of tending to master these big capitalists now and after the war. In calling for the collaboration of classes, Browder sows wrong illusions of tailism in the minds of trade union members. Whereas the job of the trade unions is to elaborate their policy and dictate it to the big employers."

As to the problems of postwar organization, Foster repudiated all illusions regarding the self-styled progressive role of monopoly capital. America, Foster declared, will emerge from the war as a powerful state in the world, the industrial magnates will be rather inclined to dictatorial acts than to compromises, and it is hardly likely, he added, that we can expect a progressive program from them.

"So far as the bulk of finance capital is concerned, starting out with a prewar record of appeasement, it has, all through the war, followed a course of rank profiteering and often outright sabotage of both the domestic and foreign phases of the nation's war program,

especially the former. While these elements obviously do not want the United States to lose the war, they are certainly very poor defenders of the policy of unconditional surrender. In the main, their idea of a satisfactory outcome of the war would be some sort of a negotiated peace with German reactionary forces, and generally to achieve a situation that would put a wet blanket on all democratic governments in Europe." (Foster Letter to Members of N. C.)

Foster thinks that Browder is right when he says that the question of socialism is not the issue of the present war and that to pose this question would only result in restricting the framework of national unity. But considering the fact that the successes of the U. S. S. R. will increase the interest of the masses in socialism, the Communists must explain to the workers the importance of the socialist development of our epoch and the way in which it concerns the U. S., for otherwise the Social Democrats could represent themselves as a part of socialism.

"The enforcement of the Teheran decisions, both in their national and international aspects, demands the broadest possible national unity, and in this national unity there must be workers, farmers, professionals, small businessman and all of the capitalist elements who will loyally support the program." (Foster Letter to members of N. C.)

Foster's letter to the National Committee and his speech at the extraordinary session of the National Committee on Feb. 8, 1944, against Browder's line, provoked violent criticism from those in attendance. Most speakers rejected Foster's arguments and supported the "new course" of the CPUSA outlined by Browder.

Speaking during the meeting against Browder, Darcy said that in his opinion Foster's speech was not aimed at diminishing Browder's authority. Like Foster, Darcy violently criticized the interpretation given by Browder of the Teheran decisions and asserted that the political agreement of the big three powers who constitute the Teheran conference should not be considered as an agreement on the principal postwar economic problems.

Afterwards Darcy was expelled from the Party by the Congress on the proposal of a commission named by the Central Committee and headed by Foster, because, as the decision says, by sending to Party members a letter containing slanderous declarations on Party leaders, he attempted to create a fraction within the Party, and because he submitted the letter in question to the bourgeois press.

After the extraordinary session of the National Committee, a discussion on Browder's report to the plenary assembly of the Central Committee was opened in the basic organizations of the Party, in regional congresses and the Party press.

According to information published in the Daily Worker, after the discussion the organization and regional congresses of the Party unanimously accepted Browder's proposals. As to Foster, he declared at the extraordinary session of the National Committee that he did not intend to make known his differences with Browder outside the Party Central Committee.

The Congress of the CPUSA (held May 20, 1944) heard Browder's report in which he expressed his opinions regarding the political situation in the U. S. and he proposed adoption of a new course in the policy of Communists of the U. S.

Proposing a resolution on the dissolution of the CPUSA, Browder declared:

"On Jan. 11 the National Committee of the Communist Party in the interest of national unity and to enable the Communists to function most effectively in the changed political conditions and to make still greater contributions toward winning the war and securing a durable peace, recommended that the American Communists should renounce the aim of partisan advantage and the party form of organization. . . .

"With that purpose, I propose in the name of the National Committee and in consultation with the most important delegations in this Convention, the adoption of the following motion:

"I hereby move that the Communist Party of America be and hereby is dissolved. . . ." (Proceedings, p. 11.)

After having accepted the resolution on dissolution of the CP, the congress of the CPUSA proclaimed itself the constituent congress of the Communist Political Association of the United States and adopted a programmatic introduction to the Association's statutes. In this introduction it is said:

"The Communist Political Association is a non-party organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

"It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

"It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy against all the enemies of popular liberties.

"It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed or color.

"It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation: it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American traditions and character. . . ." (Preamble, Proceedings, pg. 47-48)

The Constituent Congress of the CPA adopted a main political resolution, "National Unity for Victory, Security and a Durable Peace."

The resolution points out the exceptional importance of the Teheran conference decisions for victory over the aggressor and establishment of a lasting peace. It calls for reinforcement of national unity as the necessary conditions for the application of those historic decisions.

By national unity is meant union of all patriotic forces from Communists, Laborites to adherents of the Democratic and Republican parties. All ideological, religious and political differences must be subordinated to this unity. The resolution stresses the exceptional importance of the 1944 elections on whose results depend the country's unity and destiny. It recognizes the increasingly important role of the working class in national unity, its growing activity and its political influence.

The resolution flays the reactionary policy of groups led by DuPont, Hearst, McCormick, characterizing this policy as pro-fascist and treason, and calling on the American people to struggle against these groups.

The resolution then says that the majority of the American people is not yet convinced of the need for a more radical solution to social and economic problems with the aid of nationalization of big industry or by means of establishing socialism.

That is why the immediate task consists in obtaining a higher level of production in the framework the existing capitalist regime. With this, private employers must receive all possibilities to solve the problem of production and employment of labor. Solution of these problems is likewise, in the first place, linked to the maximum increase in the American people's purchasing power and extension of foreign commerce. If private industry cannot solve these tasks, the government must assume responsibility for their realization.

The resolution expresses itself against anti-Semitism, anti-Negro discrimination, calls for the outlawing of the "fifth column" and for the banning of calls by the latter for a negotiated peace with the aggressor.

The resolution concludes in these terms:

"For the camp of national unity, which is composed of the patriotic forces of all classes, from the working people to the capitalists, rests and depends upon the working class, the backbone and driving force of the nation and its win-the-war coalition. . . . It requires the extension of labor's united action of the AFL, the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods. It requires the most resolute development of labor's political initiative and influence, with labor's full and adequate participation in the government. . . .

". . . we Communists, as patriotic Americans, renew our sacred pledge to the nation to subordinate everything to win the war and to destroy fascism. . . ." (Resolutions, p. 7.)

In addition to the resolution on "National unity," the CPA Congress passed a series of other decisions: on transition from war to peacetime production; on international trade union unity; on the CPA's wage policy; on political life as it regards demobilized veterans; on work among women; on farmers; on the situation in the southern states; on suppressing the poll tax; on the fight against anti-Semitism; on unity among countries of the western hemisphere and on the 25th anniversary of the Communist movement in the U. S.

The congress unanimously elected Browder president of the CPA.

The CPA Congress addressed a message to Comrade Stalin and the Red Army saying especially:

"In every American city and village, every factory and farm of our great land, men and women and children of all classes speak with wonder and deep gratitude of the heroic achievements of the Soviet

Union and its valiant Red Army. Every day since the brutal and treacherous common Fascist enemy violated your borders on June 22, 1941, more of the American people have come to know and love your leaders and your people.

"The political and military leadership of the USSR and its mighty Red Army is applauded not only by our great political and military leaders, but by our workers, farmers, businessmen, professional people, artists, scientists and youth. The appeasers of the Hitlerites and the enemies of our common victory, who have been trying to frighten us with Hitler's 'Soviet bogey,' have not succeeded in blinding our people to the realities. Your deeds daily speak with an authority that drowns their poisonous words.

"As the relentless offensives of your mighty forces drive the Nazis from your soil, bringing nearer the day of your common and final victory over the Fascist enemy, we grow ever more conscious of our enormous debt to you, the leaders and fighters and peoples of the great Soviet land. The names of your liberated towns and villages are daily on our lips, the name of Stalin and the names of your countless heroes enshrined in our hearts.

"Daily more and more our people understand why it is that yours, the world's first Socialist state, has given the world such an unparalleled example of unity, heroism, individual initiative and a new discipline in the art and science of warfare.

"All patriotic Americans are determined to strengthen still further the concerted action of the United Nations, and its leading coalition of our country, the Soviet Union and England on which our assurance of victory rests. They are determined to continue and deepen this coalition in the peace to come and to extend the friendship among our peoples which will cement the alliance of our two powerful nations as the mainstay of victory, national freedom and an enduring peace." (Msg. to Stalin, Proceedings, pg. 13-14.)

After the constituent congress, the leadership of the CPA waged a campaign of explanation on the aims and tasks of the Association.

In one of his speeches Browder said:

". . . That is why we dissolved the Communist Party, renounced all aims of partisan advancement, and regrouped ourselves into the nonpartisan Communist Political Association. That is why we are ready and willing to work with any and all Americans who place victory in the war as the first law, and who move toward such a minimum program as we have outlined for the solution of our postwar problems. This is why we do not associate ourselves with any other political party, but rather with the most forward-looking men in all parties." (The War and the Elections, D. W. June 18, 1944.)

Explaining the functions of the CPA, its organizational secretary, Williamson, declared:

"As regards the functioning of the Association, we emphasize that this means manifold increase and improvement in every aspect of political-educational activity, on a national, state and local club basis. We must become known as an organization whose grasp of Marxism provides us with correct answers to the complex political problems confronting the people. While the members belong to, and are active in, every type of mass organization—political, economic, cultural, fraternal, etc.—the Association in its own name will speak out boldly and with initiative on all issues and policies." (Williamson, Proceedings, pg. 55-56.)



The practical activity of the CPA since the congress was subordinated to the principal task of the hour: active participation of the CPA in the 1944 election campaign.

The national CPA congress unanimously backed Mr. Roosevelt's Presidential candidacy. In their speeches, Browder and the other leaders of the CPA in the name of the CPA supported Mr. Roosevelt's election to a fourth term. The regional-state organizations of the CPA and local clubs carried on an active propaganda campaign in favor of Mr. Roosevelt and congressional candidates favorable to Mr. Roosevelt.

On Sept. 25, 1944, during a meeting called by the New York CPA on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Communist movement in the U. S., Browder gave a speech in which he declared:

"... every group, however small, just as every individual has the same supreme duty to make its complete and unconditional contribution to victory. We must give not only our lives, but we must be ready also to sacrifice our prejudices, our ideologies, and our special interests. We American Communists have applied this rule first of all to ourselves.

"We know that Hitler and the Mikado calculated to split the United Nations on the issue of Communism and anti-Communism; we know that the enemy calculated to split America on this issue in the current elections, and thus prepare our country for withdrawal from the war and a compromise peace. We therefore set ourselves, as our special supreme task, to remove the Communists and Communism from this election campaign as in any way an issue, directly or indirectly.

"To this end we unhesitatingly sacrificed our electoral rights in this campaign, by refraining from putting forward our own candidates; we went to the length of dissolving the Communist Party itself for an indefinite period in the future; we declared our readiness to loyally support the existing system of private enterprise which is accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans, and to raise no proposals for any fundamental changes which could in any way endanger the national unity; we went out into the trade unions and the masses of the people, straightforwardly and frankly using all our influence to firmly establish this policy of national unity; we helped with all our strength to restrain all impulses toward strike movements among the workers, and to prepare the workers for a continuation of national unity after the war. . . ."

"As spokesman for American Communists I can say for our small group that we completely identify ourselves with our nation, its interests, and the majority of its people, in this support for Roosevelt and Truman for President and Vice-President.

"We know quite well that the America that Roosevelt leads is a capitalist America, and that it is the mission of Roosevelt, among other things, to keep it so. We know that only great disasters for our country could change this perspective of our country from that of capitalism to that of socialism, in the foreseeable future. Only failure to carry through the war to victory, or a botching of the peace and failure to organize it, or the plunging of our country into another economic catastrophe like that of the Hoover era, could turn the American people to socialism.

**"We do not want disaster for America, even though it results in socialism. If we did, we would support Dewey and Hoover and Bricker and their company. We want victory in the war, with the Axis powers and all their friends eliminated from the world. We want a world organized for generations of peace.**

**"We want our country's economy fully at work, supplying a greatly multiplied world market to heal the wounds of the world, a greatly expanded home market reflecting rising standards of living here, and an orderly, cooperative and democratic working out of our domestic and class relationships, within a continuing national unity that will reduce and eventually eliminate large domestic struggles. . . .**

**"That is why American Communists, even as our great Communist forebears in 1860 and 1864 supported Abraham Lincoln, will in 1944 support Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President of the United States. . . ."**

As to Browder's attitude toward the Soviet Union, he highly appreciates the USSR's role in the United Nations system and in the work of finally crushing Hitlerite Germany and establishing a lasting peace after the war. Browder stressed more than once that the Soviet state built by Lenin and Stalin constitutes the irreplaceable force which saved the world from fascist slavery and he called for it to be made known to all Americans all the wisdom of Leninist-Stalinist theory that made the Soviet Union great and powerful.

From an organizational point of view, the CPA structure is as follows: the basic organizational cell is the territorial club whose general meeting is called once a month. Between general membership meetings all the work planned by the club is carried out by its committee, made up of the most active members. The clubs are subordinated to regional CPA councils. The leading organization of the CPA is the National Committee elected for two years at the Association congress. The Association's president and 11 vice-presidents elected by the congress comprise the permanent leading organization of the Association.

The CPA congress set forth maintenance of the principle of democratic centralism as the structural basis of the Association. Williamson, CPA organizational secretary, explained to the congress in these terms the application of the democratic centralism principle of the CPA:

**"... While maintaining a structure and minimum organizational requirements compatible with the character of a Marxist political educational association, we must grant greater autonomy to the lower organizations, emphasize that democracy is a two-way street from top to bottom and bottom to top, and eliminate all rigidity of organization." (Williamson, Proceedings, p. 58.)**

The national congress of the Political Association adopted the CPA constitution in which it said that everyone who wishes to belong to the CPA accepts its program and its line.

Explaining who can belong to the Association, the Daily Worker wrote:

**"We can ask of new applicants to membership in the Party only loyalty to the principles that are already comprehensive to all workers, devotion to the most basic duties of action today; plus a willingness and eagerness to study the program and history and the theory which will make them thorough Communists. And above all a willingness .**

to fight, to sacrifice in the war of mankind against Nazi enslavement is the first requirement for entering the Communist Party." (Minor, D. W., Feb. 1944.)

At the time of its dissolution the Communist Party of the United States, according to Browder's declaration, had 80,000 members without counting the 10,000 Party members in the army. According to the Congress decisions all members of the CPUSA are members of the CPA and must register before July 4, 1944. As the Daily Worker announced, up to July 16, 1944, hardly 45,000 persons had gotten themselves registered.

Without analyzing in detail Browder's full position on the dissolution of the CPUSA and creation of the Communist Political Association, and without making a developed critique of this position, one can nevertheless deduce from it the following conclusions:

1. The course applied under Browder's leadership ended in practice in liquidation of the independent political party of the working class in the U. S.

2. Despite declarations regarding recognition of the principles of Marxism, one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long-term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishment of harmony between labor and capital.

3. By transforming the Teheran declaration of the Allied governments, which is a document of a diplomatic character, into a political platform of class peace in the United States in the postwar period, the American Communists are deforming in a radical way the meaning of the Teheran declaration and are sowing dangerous opportunist illusions which will exercise a negative influence on the American labor movement if they are not met with the necessary reply.

4. According to what is known up to now, the Communist Parties of most countries have not approved Browder's position and several Communist Parties (for example that of the Union of South Africa and that of Australia) have come out openly against this position, while the Communist Parties of several South American countries (Cuba, Colombia) regarded the position of the American Communists as correct and in general followed the same path.

Such are the facts. Such are the elements of understanding which permit passing judgement on the dissolution of the American Communist Party. French Communists will not fail to examine in the light of Marxist-Leninist critique the arguments developed to justify the dissolution of the American Communist Party. One can be sure that, like the Communists of the Union of South Africa and of Australia, the French Communists will not approve the policy followed by Browder for it has swerved dangerously from the victorious Marxist-Leninist doctrine whose rigorously scientific application could lead to but one conclusion, not to dissolve the American Communist Party but to work to strengthen it under the banner of stubborn struggle to defeat Hitler Germany and destroy everywhere the extensions of facism.

The fact that all the members of the Communist Party of the United States did not sign up automatically in the Communist Political Association shows that the dissolution of the Party provoked anxieties, perfectly legitimate besides.

In the United States the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known, for instance, that the former Vice-President of the United States, Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy.

We too, in France, are resolute partisans of national unity, and we show that in our daily activity, but our anxiety for unity does not make us lose sight for a single moment of the necessity of arraying ourselves against the men of the trusts.

Furthermore one can observe a certain confusion in Browder's declarations regarding the problem of nationalization of monopolies and what he calls the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Nationalization of monopolies actually in no sense constitutes a socialist achievement, contrary to what certain people would be inclined to believe. No, in nationalization it is simply a matter of reforms of a democratic character, achievement of socialism being impossible to imagine without preliminary conquest of power.

Everyone understands that the Communists of the United States want to work to achieve unity in their country. But it is less understandable that they envisage the solution of the problem of national unity with the good will of the men of the trusts, and under quasi-idyllic conditions as if the capitalist regime had been able to change its nature by some unknown miracle.

In truth, nothing justifies the dissolution of the American Communist Party, in our opinion. Browder's analysis of capitalism in the United States is not distinguished by a judicious application of Marxism-Leninism. The predictions regarding a sort of disappearance of class contradictions in the United States correspond in no wise to a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation.

As to the argument consisting of a justification of the Party's dissolution by the necessity of not taking direct part in the presidential elections, this does not withstand a serious examination. Nothing prevents a Communist Party from adapting its electoral tactics to the requirements of a given political situation. It is clear that American Communists were right in supporting the candidacy of President Roosevelt in the last elections, but it was not at all necessary for this to dissolve the Communist Party.

It is beyond doubt that if, instead of dissolving the Communist Party of the United States all had been done to intensify its activity in the sense of developing an ardent national and anti-fascist policy, it could very greatly have consolidated its position and considerably extended its political influence. On the contrary, formation of the Communist Political Association could not but trouble the minds and obscure the perspectives in the eyes of the working masses.

In France, under cover of Resistance unity, certain suggestions for the liquidation of the parties have been circulated, with more or less discretion, during the last months, but none among us has ever thought of taking such suggestions seriously. It is not by liquidating the Party that we would have served national unity. On the contrary we are serving it by strengthening our Party. And as far as the American Communists are concerned, it is clear that their desire to serve the unity of their country and the cause of human progress places before them tasks which pre-suppose the existence of a powerful Communist Party.

After the Teheran decisions came the Yalta decisions which expressed the will of the Big Three to liquidate fascism in Germany.

and to help the liberated peoples to liquidate the remnants of fascism in the different countries.

It is scarcely necessary to recall that the material bases for fascism reside in the trusts, and the great objective of this war, the annihilation of fascism, can only be obtained to the extent in which the forces of democracy and progress do not shut their eyes to the economic and political circumstances which engendered fascism.

The American Communists have an especially important role to play in the struggle taking place between the progressive forces of the earth and the fascist barbarism.

Without any doubt they would have been in a better position to play this role in the interests of their country and human progress if, instead of proceeding to dissolve their Party, they had done everything to strengthen it and make of it one of the elements of the assembling of the broad democratic masses of the United States for the final crushing of fascism, that shame of the 20th Century. It would be useless to hide the fact that fascism has more or less concealed sympathizers in the United States, as it has in France and other countries.

The former Vice-President of the U. S., Henry Wallace, present Secretary of Commerce, said rightly that one cannot fight fascism abroad and tolerate at home the activity of powerful groups which intend to make peace "with a simple breathing spell between the death of an old tyranny and the birth of a new."

The Yalta decisions thwart these plans, but the enemies of liberty will not disarm of their free will. They will only retreat before the acting coalition of all the forces of democracy and progress.

And it is clear that if Comrade Earl Browder had seen, as a Marxist-Leninist, this important aspect of the problems facing liberty-loving peoples in this moment in their history, he would have arrived at a conclusion quite other than the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States.

## II. COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

Like every efficient propaganda organization, the Communist International was fully aware of the importance of political publications. Throughout the official *History of the CPSU(B)*, Stalin also called attention to the weight that Lenin attached to the early Bolshevik newspaper, *Iskra* (see. B, exhibit No. 61).

In the United States, a special problem arose out of the fact that the Communist movement was an offshoot of leftwing language federations within the Socialist Party. As of 1923, less than one-tenth of American Communists belonged to English speaking branches. Of the latter, many had been born abroad and spoke English with difficulty.<sup>1</sup> With a view toward "Americanizing" the Communist movement in this country, the Comintern sent over John Pepper as its representative. In May 1923, he found it necessary to report that the 9 dailies and 21 weeklies of the Workers' Party presented a complete picture of all European countries, but hardly anything about the United States.<sup>2</sup>

With the appearance of the *Daily Worker* on January 13, 1924, things changed for the better. In 1952, William Z. Foster could boast that only 1 issue had been missed in 27 years.<sup>3</sup> While Zinoviev who wrote the August 1923 Comintern appeal soon fell from favor, Vassil Kolarov survived to become president of the Bulgarian Assembly in 1945.<sup>4</sup> Amter is still an active American Communist.

<sup>1</sup> (Hillow, *I Confess*, p. 158. Oneal and Werner, *American Communism*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>2</sup> *The Worker*, May 26, 1923, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Ebon*, *World Communism Today*, p. 101. Franz Borkenau, *European Communism*, London, Faber & Faber, 1953, p. 283.

## EXHIBIT No. 25

[*The Worker*, August 25, 1923. P. 1]

## FOR AN ENGLISH DAILY

Communist International urges necessity of starting publication by November 7, this year.

Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, in a stirring appeal to the Workers Party and all its language Federations, urges the necessity of an English language Communist daily in the United States. He says:

*To the Workers Party of America and all its language federations:*

DEAR COMRADES: It is with great pleasure that the Communist International has learned of the progress that the Workers Party has made in the past few months. We are especially gratified at the militant spirit that has manifested itself in the party since the second convention in December, 1922. The unity of spirit, the determination to work and the understanding of the path to be trodden and the general tactics to be applied, augur that, in the near future, the Workers Party will mature to one of the truly Communist mass parties of the world.

The composition of the Workers Party with its 18 language federations is unique among the parties of the Communist International. Although these federations might act as a hindrance to revolutionary work, they, on the other hand, allow the Workers Party to come into direct contact with the great mass of foreign-born workers, who are the most exploited in the country. The Workers Party has, we think, solved the question of language federations in a satisfactory way, in that it regards the federations merely as propaganda sections of the party. The comrades of the language federations appear also to grasp their task in the right spirit, and to understand that the party should be a unit despite its many tongues. The Communist International calls on the members of the federations to regard this unity with the party as one of its important duties, and strive for ever closer unity.

The Communist International notes with satisfaction also that several of the language federations have good, militant organs in their languages whereby they are able to reach wide masses of workers.

At this point, however, we must say a word about the nature of your press. It is the duty of the foreign-language press to lead the foreign-born workers in the United States to an understanding of the capitalist system and the working movement in America. It is a mistake when foreign-language papers in America deal too much with the conditions in Europe only. Even though foreign-born workers naturally are interested in the affairs of the country from which they have emigrated, it is the duty and task of the communist foreign-language press in the United States to awaken these workers to class-consciousness and to struggle against the capitalism under which they are exploited, viz., the capitalism in the United States.

It should not be forgotten, either, that a language paper is able to serve the workers of that special language only. This is a most serious hindrance to really revolutionary propaganda among the great masses of the American workers. It is a most deplorable fact that

against some 10 foreign-language communist dailies there is not a single English communist daily in America. Every comrade whose heart beats for the sake of communism must and certainly does deplore this fact and realizes that until the workers party has at least one English daily with a wide circulation it will not be able to reach sufficiently wide masses of the American proletariat.

Comrades of the language federation!

The question of an English daily in the United States is as much your question as that of the English-speaking comrades. In fact it is more your problem, since you represent by far the major part of the Workers Party. Now, this is the time and this is the occasion when you can best demonstrate whether the Workers Party is a unit or not. The Communist International asks you to consider it as one of your most urgent duties immediately to mobilize all your forces—as a unit—and the support of all sympathizers to the cause of communism and, together with the English-speaking comrades—yes, the party as a whole to start.

#### A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ENGLISH DAILY

A fitting slogan for this campaign would be: "An English daily for the Workers Party by November 7, 1923"—an English daily for the communist movement in the United States by the day of the next anniversary of the establishment of the first workers soviet government in the world.

As a fighting organ of the communist movement of America, this organ will have the gigantic task of fighting the tremendous power of capitalism and the reactionary bureaucracy of the old labor movement. The paper will be the center of many battles, but these battles will help you to mobilize sufficient masses of militant workers and to secure the victory of the communist revolution.

Comrades, to the task!

The Communist International wishes you the fullest success in the campaign.

G. ZINOVIEV.

EXHIBIT No. 26

[Inprecorr, February 7, 1924. P. 58]

#### THE FIRST COMMUNIST DAILY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By I. Amter

An event of great significance has taken place in the Communist world. The Workers Party of America has launched an English daily, which is the First English Communist daily in the world.

By itself, it would not be of such importance, since the Workers Party has other dailies. But the very fact that at last the Party has succeeded in collecting a fund of \$100,000 with which to start the paper, indicates the growing strength of the Party and the sympathy and interest it has awakened among the American masses.

The Daily Worker will appear in Chicago. When it was announced that the Workers Party intended to establish a paper in that city, the bankers and manufacturers of the city started a campaign of intimidation. For the Daily Workers is the official organ of the Party and

will be the direct means whereby the Central Executive Committee will reach the American workers. The capitalists of Chicago recognized this fact, and did everything in their power to stop the appearance of the paper.

The Party has eleven other dailies, i. e., three Finnish and one each of the following: Jewish, German, Russian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Czechoslovakian, besides a number of weeklies. These papers have a combined daily circulation of 155,000. This is a commendable achievement for a party of 22,000 members. As in all countries, each copy is read by a number of workers. Hence it may be assumed that the Communist daily press reaches 1,000,000 readers in the United States.

In view of the strength of the foreign-language press, the starting of an English daily was a serious undertaking. It became all the more serious in view of the fact that an English daily must be of a different nature from the foreign-language papers. Although a Communist daily must not attempt to compete with the capitalist press, nevertheless it will have to furnish some of the features of the capitalist press that have become indispensable to the American reader. It must have a first class news service, it must furnish first-hand write-ups of important events, such as strikes, labour troubles, labour conventions, as well as conferences of bankers, manufacturers etc. It must keep directly in touch with the activities of the United States Congress. In other words, the Daily Worker, without endeavouring to compete with the capitalist press, must to a great extent replace the capitalist daily in the minds of the workers—and farmers.

Comrade Zinoviev, in his article for the first edition of the Daily Worker, laid great stress on the farmer movement in the United States. A Revolution without the farmers is a total impossibility in the United States. The situation today is such that in many respects the farmers are more rebellious—even more class-conscious—than the majority of the workers. This may be attributed not merely to the relatively poorer economic state of the farmers, but to the absolute impossibility of the vast majority of the small working farmers continuing at work. In the past year more than 300,000 mortgages were foreclosed on the farmers. The farmers, who formerly represented 5 to 8 per cent of the bankrupts, formed 15 per cent of the failures in 1923.

Hence the Daily Worker must also reach the small farmer, in the common language of the country. This multiplies the duties and expenses of the paper.

What this means for a party of 22,000 members, of whom no more than 3,000 are English-speaking, and the majority of whom are supporting dailies and weeklies in other languages, is clear. It demonstrates that, despite the 19 languages comprised in the Workers Party of America, the comrades as a whole have not only recognized the necessity of an English daily, but have made the greatest sacrifices in order to attain their goal.

And the prospects of the new daily? On November 12, the New York Leader, formerly the New York Call, ceased circulation. The rechristening of the alleged socialist sheet did not save it from destruction. As a Socialist paper, the Call, in its early days during the war, served as the organ of all revolutionary and radical sentiment. The capitalist intimidation after the war—and particularly the disintegra-



tion of the Socialist Party after the secession of the Communists, which caused the political and organizational bankruptcy of the Socialist Party—forced the Party into more opportunistic channels, which gave the stamp to its paper. The New York Call got into financial difficulties. A reorganization took place: the New York Call became the New York Leader, a liberal bourgeois organ with no appeal, to the workers. The workers refused to support the sheet. This is one of the favourable developments in the past two years as a result of the effective Communist propaganda. Half measures no longer satisfy the American workers. They are not yet ready for the Revolution: but they do not want any playing with it. This is what the Socialists cannot understand—and as a consequence, they are constantly losing ground in the United States.

The Daily Worker comes into the field with the greatest promises; it enters the arena with great responsibilities and duties. The activity of the Workers Party is a warrant that it will fulfil them.

#### EXHIBIT No. 27

[Daily Worker, January 13, 1924. P. 12]

#### THE LEADER IN THE STRUGGLE

#### The Communist International Greet the Appearance of "The Daily Worker."

Declaring that "The Daily Worker" must become a power as the champion of the tremendous issues confronting the workers and farmers of America, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, thru its secretary, W. Kolarow, has sent a greeting to "The Daily Worker" as follows:

\* \* \*

MOSCOW, Soviet Russia, Dec. 11, 1923.

#### To THE DAILY WORKER.

Dear Comrades:—The Communist movement has long waited for the appearance of a Daily in America in the English language, and at last we see it realized thru the efforts and sacrifices of the American comrades. Altho the Party has many newspapers in foreign languages, it could not expect to reach the great American working-class except thru the medium of an English Daily.

The issues confronting the Workers Party and the American workers and farmers are so great that THE DAILY WORKER must become a power. It must become the expression of all the oppressed workers and the rebellious farmers in the country. It must be the leader in the struggle against American capitalism, which is consolidating its forces for fresh assaults on the working-class. It must rally to its banner the revolutionary farmers, who thruout American history have fought for their rights.

THE DAILY WORKER must take up the struggle in the trade unions and force the reactionary union officials to fight for the interests of the workers and against their further degradation. It must fight against the open shop drive, which the American employers will soon renew with increased vigor. It must unceasingly demand the freedom of the press, speech and assemblage. It must fight for the protection of the youth of the country and against the exploitation of child labor,

which is a disgrace to the American workers. It must mobilize the women and mothers of the working-class of America against the shameful robbery of their toil and that of their children. It must conduct an unrelenting struggle against the capitalist press, which is a powerful weapon in the hands of the employers. It must expose the sham of the church, which is a tremendous force in America. It must unflinchingly raise the flag of the class struggle on the economic and political field and rally the workers and farmers to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT in the United States.

THE DAILY WORKER must mobilize the working-class of America against the new plans of American Imperialism. After gaining the hegemony of America by intrigue, plot and military intervention, American Imperialism has turned its face, to China, which soon will feel the power of American gold and American arms. Europe is to be the next victim: Germany, bleeding and broken, her workers impoverished and enslaved, is to be reduced to a wheel in the big American machine of plunder. The Workers Party and THE DAILY WORKER must call on the American workers and farmers to prevent this savage act. For in the background stands Soviet Russia, which American Imperialism once more would attack in the foolish ignorance of the fact that today the Soviet power is impregnable.

THE DAILY WORKER must be the organ of the whole membership of the Party. Every Comrade must work for it. He must take it into the factories and mines. He must furnish it with the news of the daily struggles and the life in the shops. The workers and farmers of America must feel that the COMMUNIST DAILY WORKER does not fear to tell the truth and to fight for the interests of the producers, despite the will of the oligarchy of Wall Street.

ALL SUCCESS TO THE DAILY WORKER! MAY ITS POWER GROW TILL IT BECOMES A GIANT RANGED BESIDE THE MIGHTY ORGANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA, GERMANY, AND FRANCE!

With Communist greetings,

Fraternally,

[SEAL]

W. KOLAROV.

*Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

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Karl Reeve's report on the state of Communist literature in the United States as of December 1925 reflected some of the problems arising out of the rampant factionalism of the period. Not least among the advantages of unremitting cold warfare is the ability to outgrow a weird childhood. In time, the CPUSA certainly did just that.

Reeve, son of Mother Bloor ("We Are Many"), dropped out of sight in the thirties. Karl's half brother was Hal Ware, organizer of an important Communist underground inside the Federal Government (this section, exhibit No. 37).

## EXHIBIT No. 28

[Inprecorr, December 31, 1925. P. 1368]

## COMMUNIST LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Karl Reeve

One of the important tasks of the Agitprop Department of the Workers (Communist) Party is the immediate preparation and publication of authentic Communist literature in the United States. Of the few works of Marx, Engels, etc., which have been translated and published in America, some, unfortunately, have been issued by anti-Communist organisations, with revisionist translations and deletions, and pacifist or non-revolutionary introductions. The Party is thus faced with the alternative of keeping important works of Marx, Engels, etc., entirely out of the hands of the workingclass, or selling in the Party bookstores the editions which contain, in the introductions, attacks on the Party. This lack of authentic Communist literature is one cause of the low theoretical level of the American Party.

Since 1919, of course, Communist literature has been issued. In 1919—20 a few of Lenin's pamphlets were translated and published in America, including, "State and Revolution"; "Left Communism"; "Imperialism" (with 50 percent of the original text eliminated) and "Kautsky the Renegade". Translations were also printed of Bucharin's A. B. C. of Communism (with half the original text left out), the Programme of the Russian Communist Party and Statutes of the Communist International.

The publishing activity of the Party showed decided improvement in 1923. It was during this period that several excellent pamphlets were written and printed by the Party which were aids in the Party's campaigns. Among these were; Jay Lovestone's "Government-strikebreaker" of which the Russian translation has recently entered a new edition; Lovestone's "American Imperialism", "Blood and Steel", "What's What About Coolidge"; John Pepper's "For a Labor Party", which went through four editions and had the largest sale of any pamphlet of the American Party; and the "Foreign Born Worker", by Clarissa Ware. New editions of such Communist classics as the Communist Manifesto were also issued during this year.

But at the present time, the Agitprop department, which was created at the National Convention of the Party in August, 1925, faces the task of beginning the publication of Communist literature almost anew. A few new pamphlets were issued during 1925, including the speeches of the leading Russian Communists on the Trotsky discussion, Stalin's "Leninism", Lozovsky's "Lenin", and a new edition of "State and Revolution". But attention must now be paid to a) the translation of Lenin's works and their publication in America, b) the immediate publication of pamphlets for current campaigns and the most recent theoretical Marxian works, and c) the printing by the Party of Marx' and Engels' writings with authentic translations and introductions so that these works may be rescued in America from the hands of the enemies of the workingclass.

A few examples will show the wretched state of the Communist literature in the United States. There is no edition of Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Programme" in America except that published by the Socialist Labour Party, and this edition has, for the past year been sold in the Jimmy Higgins Book Store, which is owned by the Party. The preface, written by the S. L. P. in 1922, says, "To the Independent socialists (in Germany) certainly, and to the Communists to a certain extent, attaches much of the odium that belongs to the Social Democracy".

Then comes an argument aimed to weaken and revise Marx's statement in the "Programme" that declares that "between the capitalist and Communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat".

The S. L. P. preface "interprets" Marx's statement as follows, "This letter of Marx has taken on tremendous importance to those who unthinkingly conclude that as the Russians did it so must we do it . . . the uninitiated easily conceive the notion that his (Marx's) criticism constitutes a defence of the dictatorship against its opponents . . . the publication of the letter cannot fail to act as a douche of cold water . . . Here in the United States it (the proletarian dictatorship) is out of place, and would in fact become a hindrance, an encumbrance to the orderly progress of the revolution, and could very readily be turned into an instrument of reaction. To the extent that the 'proletarian dictatorship' elsewhere may be required to meet the emergency created by a successful military insurrection, or collapse of capitalism to that same extent the Industrial Union fills the need here."

"Thoroughly comprehended it (the book) cannot fail to act as the best possible antidote to all kinds of reform programme and immediate demands, whether these be advocated by avowed bourgeois reformers or so-called 'socialists' of the socialist Party type, or yet by persons who do lip service to Russia and Communism and put on an undue amount of red paint while attempting political reform stunts, as for example the offspring and caricature of the socialist party, the Workers Party in this country".

Marx's study of the 1848 revolution in France "Class Struggles in France from 1848—50" is also published in America only by the Socialist Labour Party. The introduction by Engels is a translation of Bernstein's edition, which deleted several essential passages and gave the impression that Engels was against the arming of the workers. This book, with the perverted introduction was also, until recently, sold in the Workers Party Book store.

The Socialist Labour Party has published Engels' introduction as garbled by Bernstein, as a separate pamphlet, which however, has not been sold by the Party, with another revised preface. The pamphlet is given the title "The Revolutionary Art Military Insurrection or Political and Economic Action".

The preface (dated 1922) says, ". . . Then came the Russian revolution. By peculiar circumstances, which it is not necessary to enumerate the proletarian revolution in Russia was accomplished by a coup d'état, a victory backed by the workers and peasants in arms.

. . . No further proof was needed, the political weapon was effeminate, compromising, counter-revolutionary. 'Mass movements, military forces' had to be gathered and organised . . . Of course we were only the S. L. P. It was our word against the overwhelming evidence of Russia . . . But here comes Engels, Marx's life long co-worker, showing by facts and figures that the day of the barricade, the street corner revolution, military action against the capitalist military forces, was a thing of the past already in the last half of the nineteenth century.

" . . . This organised force of the proletariat can exist on in the Socialist Industrial Union . . . The worker will and must become the only true source of power the moment he is organised in a class conscious Socialist Revolutionary Union".

Then there is the long list of books published by the socialist Charles H. Kerr company, which for a number of years was the largest publisher of socialist books in the country. The Kerr editions, published before and during the war, are now woefully out of date. The book, "Anarchism and Socialism" by Plechanov for instance, is praised in the preface (1907) as being on a level with the Communist Manifesto.

Two of Engels' important works, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Dühring) and Feuerbach, The Roots of Socialism Philosophy" are, in the Kerr editions, translated, edited and adorned with prefaces by Austin Lewis, who, judged by his statements, is a petty bourgeois intellectual. In the preface to Feuerbach Lewis pays Marx this complement, "Marx possessed a colossal mind, not even Herbert Spencer has been his superior. Both these books are on the Party bookstores shelves.

The above examples are enough to show that the Agitprop Department, at the same time that new pamphlets and works of contemporary Russian Communists are translated and published must clear up all the out of date, garbled and unauthentic publications of Marx and Engels works by publishing accurate translations in the party printing plant.

That the Agitprop department realises this necessity is shown in the motion passed by the Central Executive Committee early in November to immediately publish our own modern edition of Marx' "Class Struggles In France"; a pamphlet "Lenin on Organisation"; Heinz Neuman's "Marx and Engles on the Role of the Communist Party in America" in pamphlet form as well as pamphlets by Pepper, Bedacht, Minor and others on current problems in our present work among the American masses. The Agitprop Department has further decided to print as soon as possible, the most important works of Marx and Engels on our own printing press, purged of reformist "interpretations" and revisionist deletions.

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The *Party Organizer* was classified as an inner party organ not intended for general distribution (this sec., exhibit No. 13). It served to pass on directives more specific than those carried in the *Daily Worker*, but yet not incriminating enough to bear the admonition "After reading, burn and destroy." It was published from April 1927 to August 1938.

## EXHIBIT No. 29

[*The Communist International*, December 20, 1934. Pp. 890-891]

## A REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN "PARTY ORGANIZER"

Some Basic Problems of the Party as Reflected and Treated in the  
*Party Organizer* During the Period January-August, 1934

By E. Green

The *Party Organizer*, a monthly magazine designed to deal with specific political-organizational problems of the Party, is issued monthly by the C. C. of the C. P. U. S. A. With rare exceptions, the *Party Organizer* is now coming out regularly practically every month. The existence of the *Party Organizer* and its regular appearance are certainly an achievement for the C. P. U. S. A.

The Eighth Convention of the Party, held last April, has brought to light a number of achievements of the C. P. U. S. A. since its Seventh Convention: It has tripled the membership; it has made some real advance in improving the inner life of the Party, both politically and in the respect of developing new leading cadres; some progress in concentration, in shop work, on the trade union field, etc. But the Convention again and again stressed that, notwithstanding these achievements, concentration and shop work, Party building, trade union work, etc., *are the very problems* that are facing our Party in the sharpest form at the present time.

Has the *Party Organizer*, in the past six months, brought forward the central political-organizational tasks confronting the Party? How has it helped to solve these problems? How as the *Party Organizer* helped the lower organizations of the Party to carry out their tasks, really teaching the comrades of the units, sections and districts, to overcome the Party's still lagging behind the Leftward-moving masses in the U. S. A.?

To answer these questions one has to analyze some of the basic political-organizational problems of the Party and see how they were dealt with in the magazine for the period under review.

**Concentration:** The central importance of concentration has been pointed out for a long time both by the C. I. and the C. C. of our Party. The Open Letter and resolutions of the C. I. and C. C. of the Party have time and again pointed out that without concentrating on the basic industries, the basic strata of the proletariat of the U.S.A.—miners, metal, steel, auto, marine—and without winning the majority of these workers to our side, there can be no real advance towards becoming a mass Communist Party. Still, at the Eighth Convention it was sharply pointed out that we have as yet made little progress on this point.

The January and February numbers do not deal with the problem at all. In the March issue, Comrade Peters deals with concentration in connection with the problem of dividing various districts and sections, giving each a smaller territory so as to enable them to cover it better. In the same issue there was an article discussing concentration in the Harvester Company in Chicago and how the Open Letter helped the work there. The April issue contains an article on experiences of railroad concentration in Chicago.

The articles that appeared in the various numbers, very useful articles, giving a world of experience in the field of concentration, were not accompanied with definite *line of the Party Organizer*, in the sense of analyzing and drawing lessons from these experiences, helping the comrades overcome the hardships they found in the work.

The important thing here is that the *Party Organizer itself says nothing* in comment on these experiences: what they mean to the work of concentration; how we must deal with such problems and obstacles, how to overcome these shortcomings, etc. The *Party Organizer* should not pass up such glaring examples as quoted above without comment, without organizing a campaign against such methods of concentration. Thus the main tasks of the *Party Organizer* in directing the comrades in the work, in providing the basis for overcoming the hardships, making use of the experiences in one unit, of a number of units, to help all others, are not being accomplished to a sufficient degree.

### WORK IN THE FACTORIES

*Work in the factories* was discussed in practically every issue in the period under review, mainly in letters of comrades, articles from the field, relating experiences from various shop units and street units. The printing of these letters is very good. But the *Party Organizer* must comment, elaborate, explain, estimate and generalize the experiences contained in the letters. The main problems that Comrade Williamson in his org. report, Comrade Browder in his general report and various comrades in the discussion at the Eighth Convention brought out—problems of *methods of work*: the question of how to work under illegal conditions in the shops; how to raise demands of the workers and develop shop struggles, etc.—all these problems, of the most vital importance to the life of the Party in rooting itself in the factories, mines and mills, are not to be found in the last six issues of the *Party Organizer*.

And still, the *Party Organizer* is the place where comrades must find this vital information. The *Party Organizer* must be the *handbook* for comrades to learn how to carry on shop work.

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In his official Soviet review of *The Communist*, Mingulin generally found reason to be pleased. One annoying deviation, however, was Comrade Bittleman's underestimation of the length of time required for the transition from capitalism to the Communist society. In his *State and Revolution*, Lenin explained why this transition could not be immediate and why, therefore, a dictatorship of the proletariat had to be established in order to provide for the welfare of the people (sec. A, exhibit No. 9). By 1935, the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat was showing no indication whatsoever of becoming less permanent. Only a year before Bittleman's article appeared, Stalin had enlightened the Bolshevik Party as to why the dictatorship of the proletariat must become even more repressive (sec. B, exhibit No. 40). In brief, the American comrade was wrong when he thought that the Communist utopia could ever be just around the corner.

Passing on to other articles in *The Communist*, Mingulin noted with approval how the editorial board of the magazine appreciated Lenin's military program of revolution. It was about this time that M. J. Olgin published his highly insurrectionary pamphlet (this section, exhibit No. 17). Mingulin also applauded Comrade Amter's attack on the New Deal.

## EXHIBIT No. 30

[*The Communist International*, March 20, 1935. Pp. 305-311]

## THE EVE OF THE SEVENTH COMINTERN CONGRESS

By F. I. Mingulin

(Review of *THE COMMUNIST*—the monthly theoretical-political organ of the C. C. of the C. P. U. S. A.)

THE January (1935) number of *The Communist* opens the discussion on the coming Seventh Comintern Congress. The magazine introduced a special section on "The Discussion of the Seventh C. I. Congress".

There are two articles in this section: one by Max Young entitled "Sharpen the Fight for the Central Slogan of the World Communist Party—Soviet Power", and another by Nat Ross on "Some Problems of the Class Struggle in the South". The rest of the material in this number also very closely concerns most important questions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, for example, Comrade Bittelman's article, "For Leninism—for a Soviet America", Comrade Amter's article, "The National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance—and After".

Besides this, there is also a reprint of one of Lenin's articles: "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution", one of the most important program works of Lenin, and a reprint of an article of Comrade Stalin: "Three Fundamental Slogans of the Party on the Peasant Question". The end of the number is devoted to the usual monthly review of the development of the economic crisis, prepared by the Labor Research Association, and a brief review of the eight volumes published in English of the *Collective Works* of Lenin.

The first few pages of the magazine are devoted to Comrade Kirov, and give his picture, the statement of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., the necrologue signed by Comrades Stalin, Ordjonikidze, Molotov and others, and the statement of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

This number of *The Communist* can be regarded as an achievement of the editorial board, and of the Party.

The first article—that of Comrade Bittelman—is devoted to the eleventh anniversary of the death of Lenin—the immortal leader and teacher of the working class—the mighty genius. Comrade Bittelman's article occupies a central position among the original material included in the number. It is written on a high theoretical level, and endeavors, on the basis of Lenin's doctrine, to throw light upon contemporary problems of the labor movement in the U.S.A. and the position of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. In the first section of the article called "The International Significance of Bolshevism" Comrade Bittelman shows on the basis of concrete material, concerning the growth of class contradictions, the sharpening of the class struggle in the U.S.A., the ripening of the revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A. And here the author approaches the question of the international significance of Bolshevism, its methods, its program, the program of Soviet Power. The world-wide historic victories of Soviet Power in the U.S.S.R. side by side with the downfall of the policy of Social-Democracy in Germany and Austria, the fascization of bourgeois democracy, etc., are more and more convincing the masses that the way of the Soviets is the only correct one for them.



However, it is just by force of this that the currents in the labor movement which are hostile to Communism are not increasing their fight and making more maneuvers in order to save their weakening position. Comrade Bittelman briefly analyzes the position of the A. F. of L. leaders, who advise the masses to take the N.R.A. road (of "re-organization"), and also the position of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party. The position of the latter differs from the position of the A. F. of L. leaders in so far as does reformism, which is veiled behind socialist phrases, differ from the same reformism which reveals itself in a more open, trade unionist, bourgeoisie form. However, Comrade Bittelman is correct in not reducing the question merely to this difference and in polemizing in more detail with Right social-reformism and unmasking it. Further, Comrade Bittelman quite correctly approaches the problem when he raises the question before both the supporters of the Detroit Declaration, before the "militants", and before the supporters of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee", in order to see to what extent and in what way they have really begun to free themselves of the "deadening reformist ideology of Oneal". And step by step Comrade Bittelman convincingly shows that there is a difference between the Detroit Declaration of the Socialist Party and the position of the Rights, especially if we bear in mind those elements in the Socialist Party which, while voting for the Declaration, honestly go to the Left. The basis of the position and the declaration of the Right wing of the Socialist Party remains reformism, the denial of the international significance of Leninism, the denial of the Soviet way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Further, Comrade Bittelman examines the position of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party which is in power there. What unites this party with the Socialist Party in a common bond is that they both strive to reform capitalism.

The Farmer-Labor Party uses its parliamentary positions in order to save capitalism at the expense of the masses. This policy arises out of the theoretical position of the Detroit Declaration. From this, Comrade Bittelman draws the conclusion, well founded, that there does not exist any reformist, democratic way to power for the working class and that there remains only one way, that of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and setting up of Soviet Power—the Bolshevik way.

Thus Comrade Bittelman arrives at the second section of his article, entitled "Our Chief Slogan—Soviet Power". Here he makes an analysis of the position of the supporters of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee", who were not satisfied with the Detroit Declaration. Their position was described in the "Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party" (*The Revolutionary Socialist Review*, Vol. I, No. 1). Carefully analyzing the position taken up in this appeal, Comrade Bittelman establishes how much of it is taken from the program of the Communists, or rather which formulations are taken from the Communists (proletarian dictatorship as the transition from the capitalist to socialist society, workers' soviets as organs of the armed uprising). After this, Comrade Bittelman analyzes the shortcomings of this appeal, its inconsistency, its inability fully to break with reformism. This is expressed first and foremost in the fact that the appeal makes the Soviets, the Soviet form of power, only a possible form of power for the working class. On the basis of all

the post-war examples of the working class struggle for power, and in particular the struggle of the Spanish workers, Comrade Bittelman points out that the victorious proletarian revolution, in whatever forms it takes place in the beginning, takes the Soviet road when it comes to the highest stage of the struggle of power.

The last section of Comrade Bittelman's article is called "The United Front and the Struggle for Power". In this section the author points out that the struggle for the united front does not contradict the struggle for the slogan of Soviet power, but, on the contrary, widens the possibility of mobilizing the masses around our main slogan.

We have dwelt in detail on Comrade Bittelman's article, because it gives a very valuable criticism, for members of the C. P. U. S. A., of the positions of different shades of social-reformism, from the viewpoint of our main slogan of Soviet Power. At the same time, it is necessary to dwell upon some shortcomings in this article.

Comrade Bittelman very successfully showed that all currents in the labor movement which, in one form or another, to some extent or another, do not recognize fully the international significance of Leninism, Bolshevism, inevitably continue to remain basically reformist. This is perfectly correct and this must be constantly shown and proven. But the matter does not end with this, especially in the present period, the period of closely approaching the second round of revolutions and wars, of the strong Leftward movement of the masses, of the crisis of Social-Democracy, its disintegration, and of inevitable mass splits and breaking away from Social-Democracy.

An important task is to follow up the ideological, political and organizational forms in which the transition of the masses previously social-reformist, bourgeois-reformist, or even fascist, or simply non-party, takes place to the position of the revolutionary class struggle, to the position of Communism.

If the Communists today fail to make the most attentive and careful study of this process, they will be unable to establish the correct tactics, for it is just this process that forms the necessary factor for the realization of our important strategic task, of winning the majority of the working class. Therefore, having seen clearly that without the unconditional acceptance of the international significance of Leninism, there can be no consistent revolutionary policy, one must at the same time help different non-Communist strata of the workers and toilers to leave their own bourgeois or inconsistent revolutionary positions and come over to our Communist position. Comrade Bittelman did not devote sufficient attention in his article to this most important task, although his criticism gives a good basis for doing so.

This shortcoming was particularly felt in the last section of the article. Here it should have been shown what influence the changes in the Socialist Party have on the question of the united front. We assume that both the magazine and Comrade Bittelman at future occasion will return to a careful analysis of all the changes going on among the masses, including the masses of the Socialist Party, which find their expression in different currents of the Socialist Party and the theoretical positions taken up by these various currents. This will help those comrades who have made one step away from open reformism to move forward in this direction.

In revealing the likeness which exists between the Detroit Declaration and the position of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, Comrade Bittelman cites one place in the declaration according to which, in the words of Comrade Bittelman, the revolutionary class struggle "is permissible *only* for the purpose of overthrowing fascism (or to prevent its coming to power)". The part which is given in parentheses, "or to prevent its [fascism—I. M.] coming to power" is most significant from the viewpoint of practical struggle in the U. S. A. today. If there are elements and tendencies in the Socialist Party which agree upon revolutionary class struggle against fascism right now, today, without "waiting" until fascism comes to power, then this is undoubtedly a sufficiently serious factor for establishing a broad united front with them for struggle against facism, against the capitalist offensive.

It is not enough to limit oneself to recognition of the differences in the positions of different non-Communist currents; one must also seek for the possibilities which differences, often not very significant, give us of increasing the struggle for bringing the masses to ever more revolutionary positions, and for increasing the struggle for the United front.

Let us mention, further, a few shortcomings in the article of Comrade Bittelman very easily rectified. Criticizing correctly the obscure conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat of the followers of the R. P. C., the author writes that it is wrong to talk about the transformation of the capitalist society into socialist, that one must speak of the abolition of capitalist society (he identifies capitalist society with capitalism, which, especially in the given case, is wrong). It is worth while to refer to the fundamental works\* in order to understand that this transformation (of capitalist into Communist society) is just this abolition of capitalism, and it is wrong to place one against the other, and can lead only to mistakes. The transition to socialism is not the act of destroying capitalism all at once, but is a more or less prolonged transitional period of the revolutionary transformation of one society into the other ("the society" is not abolished) *after* the overthrow, the abolition of the *power* of the bourgeoisie, the power of monopolist capital, and the establishment of the power of the working class, the Soviet Power.

Comrade Bittelman substitutes the English word "council" for the word "soviet". This, although the equivalent as Comrade Bittelman points out for the word "Soviet", can hardly be considered correct, when used in the slogan of soviets for the workers, saying, in English, "councils" for the workers. The word soviet has become an international one, and all the workers the world over who are fighting for Soviet Power, are fighting, in all languages under the slogan of Soviets, in order thus to emphasize the fact that it is a question of the struggle along the lines of struggle of the Bolshevik Soviets in Russia.

These are some of the shortcomings in the generally excellent article of Comrade Bittelman and can easily be rectified.

The editorial board did well to print in this number, which was also the Lenin number, the article by Lenin entitled "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution". This article is of exclusive

\*"Between the capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other" (C. I. Program). "Between the capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of revolutionary reconstruction of one into the other." (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*.)

importance for the understanding of the tactics of the proletariat. His remarks about our attitude to the struggle for reforms is of most practical importance for every Communist Party today. "We are by no means opposed to fighting for reforms. . . . We are in favor of a program of reforms which is directed *also* against the opportunists. The opportunists would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms to them, . . ." etc.

Comrade Anter's article gives the members of the Party very extensive and convincing material for unmasking all kinds of plans for unemployment insurance put forward by the bourgeoisie and social-reformists as against the workers' bill for unemployment insurance put forward by the Communist Party. It is only a pity that Comrade Anter, as the leader of the Unemployment Councils, did not dwell in sufficient detail on the experiences of their struggle and the future tasks of this struggle.

Comrade Max Young's article raises the most important question of the struggle on behalf of our central slogan of Soviet Power in the U.S.A. The article is written on the basis of considerable material, and tries to reveal the weaknesses of the Party. We think, however, that Comrade Max Young was not able sufficiently satisfactorily to develop the question raised. This can be seen from the large number of inexact formulations both theoretically and in fact, as well as by a certain slovenliness to be found therein. For example, the author begins his article with the following:

The struggles of the American working class, during the past one and a half years of the Roosevelt administration, have attained a higher level than ever before. This is obvious both with regard to the character of these struggles and the vast numbers of workers involved.

We think that the last eighteen months or two years are distinguishable in the U. S. A. for such a widespread struggle on the part of the working class that it is a mistake to underestimate this struggle; but there is not the slightest need to exaggerate the extent of the struggle. The level and extent of this struggle has not yet reached that of the first few years that followed the war (it would have been worth while for Comrade Young to take the strike statistics, and it would have become "obvious" to him that in 1919 the number of workers who went on strike was approximately twice as many as in 1934), although as regards certain points, the struggle reached a higher level. For example, the fact that the Communist Party has grown up and is playing an incomparably bigger role in the struggles of the proletariat and as a result broader masses have risen to the understanding of their own revolutionary tasks, and also in the fact that the slogan of soviets is more popular, etc. In a word, there are several factors of decisive importance, which show that a revolutionary movement as big as that which was apparent immediately after the war, will lead to class battles of incomparably greater importance, will raise the question of power more keenly, and will become the beginning of decisive battles for power. Therefore the Communists should not overestimate the extent of the class conflicts achieved, but should at the same time see the prospects before them clearly, as the development of class battles on the eve of the second round of revolutions and wars, the round in which the Communist Parties have to play an incomparably more important and decisive part than in the first round.

By making these remarks we in no way wish to belittle the importance of Comrade Max Young's article. The article raises several practical questions like the popularization of the slogan of Soviet Power, and requires careful study. It raises the important question of how the Party today is putting forward the slogan of Soviet Power, wherein lie the shortcomings in the Party's agitation, and what tasks face us. We hope that the magazine will continue the discussion of the question raised in this article and we hope to return on another occasion to it.

Comrade Nat Ross's article on some problems of the class struggle in the South is of extremely great importance. It analyzes the economic position in the South, and development of the class struggle there, the importance of the campaign on behalf of the Scottsboro prisoners, the work of the Communist Party in the South, the growth there of fascism and the reformism, the problem of the united front in the South and the immediate tasks of the Party. The reader will see that the circle of questions raised is very wide. Without going into an analysis of these questions, we would just like to express the warmest desire that the magazine will develop as broad a discussion as possible around the problems of the work of the Party in the South and among the Negro masses in general. The Negro South, the many millions of Negro proletarians, constitute a compact, national and proletarian mass that is called upon to play an enormous role in the development of the emancipation struggle of the working class and the toilers of the U. S. A.

The magazine did well to print Comrade Stalin's work on the three fundamental slogans of the Party on the peasant question. This work is the most complete, systematic exposition of the programmatic position of our Party and of the Communist International on this question. Consequently, for the C.P.U.S.A., in the struggle for a mass Communist Party, in the struggle for Soviet Power, it is extremely important to study this programmatic document for the struggle and the winning over of the farmers as allies of the proletariat.

We must welcome the fact that the Party has seriously taken up the work of publishing a good theoretical organ. What more is required now to improve the magazine?

First, that a most serious discussion be launched on the problems facing the forthcoming Seventh Comintern Congress. Despite the noted shortcomings in Comrade Max Young's article, we welcome the appearance of such a detailed article on a question which is a central one for the Party. And the comrades must not be embarrassed by the fact that, in their articles, separate, even if serious, shortcomings may be found, but should take the most active part in discussing the problems of the Seventh Comintern Congress. The wider, the more serious, the bolder our discussion, the better we prepare for our World Congress, the higher will be its role in our struggle for world Communism. And the role of the central theoretical organs of the Party in this work is extremely important, and the role of the American Communist Party in particular. It is known that in 1929, Comrade Stalin stated that "the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is one of those few Parties, on which history placed tasks of a decisive character from the viewpoint of the development of the world revolutionary movement". This means that discussions of this kind in *The Communist* should not be limited to problems which concern only the

American Communist Party, but should try also from the viewpoint of its own experiences, to bring a contribution to the store for the enlightenment of other problems which concern the whole Communist International.

Secondly, it is essential that each successive number of the magazine should unceasingly study and generalize theoretically the experiences and tasks of the Party on three or four important lines of its work, such as trade union work, strike struggles, the development of the united front, questions of political changes in the country, in particular the question of the movement on behalf of an independent policy for the masses of the working class, the question of agitation and the Party slogans, training cadres, improving methods of organizational Party construction, in order to overcome the unstable membership and to adapt these methods to the requirements of the mass Party which the C.P.U.S.A. is already becoming. Besides this, we consider that it would be useful for the magazine to try to give leading articles devoted to the more important, individual, current tasks of the Party, as well as an analysis of current events in the development of the political life of the country, the class struggle in the country, and the prospects of its development. We think that this would help to raise the political level of the Party members, make them better able to orientate in the present political situation and thus improve the whole political work and agitation of the Party which is so necessary today.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is stepping out on to the broad road of a mass Communist Party. Such a Party should have a theoretical organ worthy of its world historic tasks. The number under review shows that the Party is making serious achievements in this direction.

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By June 1936, various Communist publications had acquired the "New Look" prescribed by the Seventh World Congress. And Earl Browder's assurances that communism was the Americanism of the 20th century was helping to corral no end of sympathizers into the party's many front organizations. In 1952, however, William Z. Foster declared that Browder's bourgeois democratic deviations had already begun in the middle thirties.<sup>1</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 31

[*The Communist International*, June 1936. Pp. 816, 820]

#### A BOOK ON COMMUNISM FOR THE BROAD MASSES

By G. Minword

The appearance of Comrade Browder's book, *What is Communism?* is an excellent contribution to the ideological propagandist and agitational work of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. This book may be considered as the direct result of the work performed by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International under the leadership of Comrade Dimitroff in the sphere of reconstructing the policy of the Communist Parties by placing before them the task of becoming a mass political party of the proletariat and to be in the forefront in all phases of political life. The book provides every American worker, every toiler, every anti-fascist, with a clear, comprehensible and

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 334, 336-338.

popular reply to a number of the vital questions of the class struggle as well as to a number of questions of principle connected with the tactics of the Communists.

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The chapter which follows—"What About Religion?"—is especially important. Millions of people who belong to religious organizations, despite all their differences of opinion with the Communists on questions of religion, can and want to fight together with them against the offensive of capital, fascism and war. And the Communist Party of the U. S. A. reveals its political maturity, when through Comrade Browder, it opportunely and correctly raises the question of the possibility and necessity of making a united front with these masses.

The Chapter "The Family and Revolution" should be noted, as it is of live interest to broad masses of people. Comrade Browder points out that not only are the Communists not "against the family", but, on the contrary, that only under socialism can there be created a really comradely, happy, free family.

In the important chapter "How the Communist Party Works", Comrade Browder refutes the widespread slanderous lies put forward by enemies about "instructions from Moscow", about "plots", "conspiracies", etc. The Communist Party is a legal mass party, fighting for legal conditions of work. It is the Party of the proletarian masses, and its policy is determined and adapted to suit their interests.

The chapter "Where Socialism Already Exists" reveals all the historic victories which the peoples of the U. S. S. R. have attained under the leadership of their great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. And here Comrade Browder indicates what socialism could achieve for the U. S. A.

The last chapter, "A Glimpse of Soviet America", describes this question in more detail.

The book also contains the manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

Comrade Browder's book reflects the ideological growth of the leading cadres of the world Communist movement who have learned to speak not only to thousands of Communists but to the millions of people whom the crisis and the developments of the last years have awakened to active political life. It is to be hoped that this truly people's book will be widely distributed.

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In one of the last issues before *Inprecorr* became *World News and Views*, there appeared another review of articles contained in *The Communist*. Once again Comrade Bittelman got the lead spot. On this occasion he was, apparently, free of all deviations.

#### EXHIBIT No. 32

[*Inprecorr*, June 18, 1938. P. 746]

#### **Review of Periodicals—"The Communist," May 1938**

This number of the theoretical monthly of the C. P. of the United States devotes its first half to problems discussed at the Tenth National Congress of the C. P. of the U. S. A.

The *leading article* (monthly survey), by *Alex Bittelman*, deals—in part in a polemical form—with the *Democratic Front* as proposed in the draft of the resolution to be submitted to the

Congress. This draft designates the main task of the present moment to be "to inflict defeat on the offensive of financial capitalism, and to bar the road to fascism. . . . In order to attain this aim, all labour and progressive forces must be combined and consolidated in one single democratic front." The writer examines a number of questions in this connection, especially that of the elections in the autumn of 1938.

*Clarence A. Hathaway* writes on the *building up of the Democratic Front*. The Democratic Front is a step forward to the People's Front. In the Federal State of *Minnesota* the *Farmers and Workers Party* approaches fairly nearly to a U. S. A. type of People's Front, whilst in the city of *New York* the coalition against Tammany Hall (the old corrupt city administration) at the last election campaign furnished an actual example of a Democratic Front. Hathaway makes a number of practical suggestions for the building up of the Democratic Front, and emphasises in conclusion that the situation in the country is favourable for the development of a Democratic Front.

*Gene Dennis* and *Gil Green* publish *Notes on the Defence of American Democracy*, and show how the situation, altered by the new factor of fascism, demands a change of tactics. The defence of democracy calls for a democratic form of struggle. This defence must aim at the same time at extending the existing political liberties and at rapidly creating the pre-conditions for a really democratic anti-fascist Government. American Democracy must be given a new class content, based on the new relation of class forces.

The last of the four contributions dealing with the Party Congress is by *H. B.*: "*Unemployment—an old struggle under new conditions.*" Whilst during the last great crisis the unemployed had to carry on their struggle almost alone, aided only by the C. P., -now different conditions have arisen, due chiefly to the very fact of that last great struggle. To-day the unemployed are not only better organised as a section of the organised labour movement, but are clearer with regard to their own needs and demands. The labour and progressive movement as a whole stands to-day for the unemployed. This applies especially to the C. I. O. trade unions, who have formed unemployed committees of their own. The unemployed organisation "*Workers' Alliance*" is still, however, a necessity, and complements the work of the other organisations.

A well-documented article by *Robert Stark* on the *economic crisis* heads the second part. The new economic crisis in the U. S. A. is a cyclic crisis, interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism. Whilst output capacity has increased enormously since the war, the basis for the purchasing powers of the masses has been eroded. Between 1930 and 1937 the decline in the proportion of employment in the industries was double the decline in production, and the decline in the total of wages paid was almost quadruple (unemployment and short time!). The purchasing powers of the working peasantry and agricultural labourers too have fallen off steadily during the last few years, in spite of increased production. Unemployment has increased abruptly again during the last few months, and may now be estimated at 15 millions. The attempts by financial capital to find a way out from this crisis at the expense of the workers must be opposed by the working class by determined struggle for their own solution of the crisis, at the expense of the rich.



*Samuel Putnam* describes the “*penetration of fascism into Latin America*,” where fascism is no longer merely a danger, but a reality. Great Britain and the U. S. A. are being supplanted more and more in the South American markets by Germany, Italy and Japan. Germany has pushed the U. S. A. from its first place in exports to Brazil and Chile, and in Colombia it comes immediately after the U. S. A., taking the second place hitherto held by Great Britain. The starvation wages paid in Germany, Italy and Japan enable these countries to undercut prices successfully. Besides this, more and more undertakings are being conducted and newly-established in South America by Germans, Italians and Japanese. This is accompanied by the so-called cultural penetration, promoted by the fact that in South America there are five to six million Italians, at least 15 millions with Italian blood, and almost one million Germans in Brazil, and 100,000 in Argentina, whilst the number of Japanese is increasing by leaps and bounds—in Brazil alone from 15,000 in 1926 to at least 250,000 at the present time.

It must, however, not be forgotten, as it is pointed out at the close of the article, that the fascist forces are disunited among themselves not only in Brazil, but in Mexico, Cuba and other countries, and that all over Latin America there is an awakening of self-defensive forces, which should receive energetic support in the U. S. A.

In conclusion, the number contains a detailed review of *Edgar Snow's* book on *Soviet China*, and a sharp polemic against the tendencies—criticised as serving reaction and representing philosophical Nihilism—evidenced by *Stuart Chase* in a series of articles in “*Harper's Magazine*” and in his latest book “*The Tyranny of Words*.”

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In 1929 Stalin sent Philip Dengel, along with Harry Pollitt of the British Communist Party, to straighten out the factional mess existing within the American Communist movement.<sup>1</sup> Dengel was an important figure in the Comintern and also in the German Communist Party. Having fled his native land in 1933, he continued to work in Moscow. After 1944, his name no longer figured in Soviet news releases. He was not among the German Communist exiles who were sent back after the war.<sup>2</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 33

[*The Communist International*, August 1939. Pp. 947-948]

#### BOOK REVIEWING IS A SERIOUS MATTER

By P. Dengel

Some time ago, Joseph Freeman, an American writer, published a book called *An American Testiment*. The New York *Daily Worker* gave this book a favorable review and recommended it to its readers without criticism. Later on, the book was also published in England. The London *Daily Worker* likewise gave it a favorable review and recommended it to its readers without criticism.

We think that a Communist paper should recommend only such books to the workers as serve the workers' cause and strengthen them

<sup>1</sup> Gittlow, *I Confess*, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 447, 506-507.

in their struggle. It need not always be books that are beyond reproach from the viewpoint of historical materialism, of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist press can also recommend books to the workers written by authors whose outlook is confused and idealistic but which are useful weapons in the struggle against capitalism and reaction. There are many examples of this right in the United States. In such a case, it is the task of the Communist press, in reviewing the book, to give the reader some pointers to enable him to read the book critically, while at the same time taking issue with the progressive author in a factual and comradely manner.

The Communist press, in particular, has the duty of warning the workers when books are published which pretend to be pro-labor and even "revolutionary" but which, in reality, contain more or less big doses of disruptive poison in more or less concealed form—books, which under the mask of "objectivity," suggest to the worker an anti-working class outlook and arouse sympathy for the enemies of the labor movement.

This happens to be the case with the book by Joseph Freeman. The case is so much more serious because, as a collaborator of the *New Masses*, Freeman had become known to the revolutionary workers, and because, as far as we know, he was still considered a member of the Communist Party of America at the time of the publication of his book.

*An American Testament* is a sort of autobiographical narrative, of slight literary value, the typical hackwork of a writer whose imagination and creative power does not reach beyond a strong youthful experience. Freeman's intellectual physiognomy was determined by his association with the intellectuals of the well-known Greenwich Village, by the problems of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectual youth during the first years after the war. At that time, psychoanalysis was the prevailing fashion in these circles. Freeman did not go beyond this fashion. In his *Testament*, he tries hard to convert the reader to his "outlook," in the form of "reconciling" psychoanalysis with what Freeman considers to be historical materialism.

From 1924 to 1927, Freeman lived in Moscow and for a time did translations for the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This was the time of the historic dispute with Trotskyism. Freeman did not have the faintest idea of the magnitude and importance of this struggle. We could ignore the account of Freeman's very uninteresting personal experiences during this time if it did not pretend to give a sort of inner description of the circles of political collaborators of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In this, Freeman mixes a little truth with a lot of imagination in order to make himself personally "interesting." In this account, there isn't a trace of understanding of the great struggle in which the fate of the labor movement was at stake. The worker or intellectual reading it is repelled or misled. But two large Communist papers recommend this filth to their readers!

When the book appeared, the role of Trotsky and his supporters as enemies of the working class, as agents of imperialism and fascism, had already been clearly exposed. But Freeman portrays the spy Trotsky and his outfit in a sympathetic manner throughout. He cites long quotations from Trotsky, agrees with them, and tells how they enthused him and his petty-bourgeois friends.

*An American Testament* does not arouse any hatred for the vile Trotskyite enemies of the working class and the anti-fascist movement. It attempts to arouse sympathy for them as people who had given their "services" to the labor movement but had "erred." It is an underhanded defense of the Trotskyites. But two big Communist papers recommend this hackwork to their readers!

The editors of the *Daily Worker* in New York and the *Daily Worker* in London have evidently not read this book and did not sufficiently assure themselves of the reliability of their collaborators. Unfortunately this is not an isolated case. In an issue of the London *Daily Worker* which appeared shortly before Christmas, 1938, the book of a German Trotskyite was warmly recommended. This was an author who had been waging a vile struggle against the Soviet Union and against the Comintern for fifteen years, an open Trotskyite.

The reviewing of books is an important task with which the responsible heads of newspapers and periodicals should attentively concern themselves. Such a task should be given only to thoroughly trusted, conscientious comrades who have enough training and experience. Working class readers trust their paper which correctly advises them on political questions. They also trust the judgment and the criticism of their paper in connection with books. What confusion may arise, when such a miserable and harmful hackwork as that by Mr. Freeman, who tries to suggest to his readers sympathy for Trotsky and the Trotskyites, is recommended by Communist papers without any qualification.

Book reviews are necessary. But it is no subordinate job. On the contrary, it is a very serious and important job which should be subject to the control of responsible Party comrades.

When Stalin's *History of the CPSU (B)* appeared in the United States, the American comrades knew that they now had the last word on every significant issue. Other works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin were helpful.<sup>1</sup> But the *History* topped them all, because it outlined Stalin's successful method of consolidating power (sec. B, exhibit No. 61).

#### EXHIBIT No. 34

[*World News and Views*, July 15, 1939. Pp. 803-804]

### A MASTERPIECE OF MARXISM-LENINISM—THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE HISTORY OF THE C. P. S. U. IN AMERICA

By P. O'Malley

The reference of the *Short Course, History of the C. P. S. U.* in the U. S. A. was received with an enthusiasm accorded to no other book in labour history.

Starting with the C. C. C. P. U. S. A. and downward to the branches and lower Party organisations, the entire C. P. U. S. A. immediately appreciated the vast political and theoretical significance of the "Short Course." It became a basic instrument for the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, a powerful means for understanding the American history and problems, and has become the cornerstone for a planned campaign for an ideological and political rearmament for

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 381.

the entire Party. The "Short Course" is now being utilised by the C. P. U. S. A. as the *fundamental basis* for the reconstruction of the Party's entire educational apparatus and method of study.

The C. C. adopted a series of decisions designed to mobilise the entire Party for the distribution and study of the "Short Course," and to reorganise the educational apparatus by integrating the teachings of the history into the life, activity and study of the Party. In launching this campaign, *Comrade Browder* declared at the Plenum:

Our great brother Party, the C. P. S. U., which gave the world the supreme example of the Communist programme translated into life, has now also provided us with a great instrument for our ideological rearmament . . . prepared under the direction of its Central Committee and with the personal participation and leadership of Comrade Stalin . . . It is inevitable that the greatest experience in the application and further development of Marxist-Leninist theory in practice, shall have the most profound and far-reaching results of universal validity. It is inevitable that the new "History" provides the Communists of the United States, and all students of Marxism-Leninism, with the indispensable textbook for our task in mastering theory.

The membership of the C. P. U. S. A. enthusiastically responded to the call of Browder to "make use of the 'History' on a large scale, in a really organised manner, as a basic feature of our Party's work and education." The Central Committee outlined an extensive plan for the popularisation, distribution and use of the "History." Every State and District organisation also adopted corresponding plans, concretely based upon their respective movements and strength. Some parts of the C. C. plan were:

1. To publish the 100,000 copies at actual physical cost of production and allocate the edition to the States and Districts on a quota plan.

2. To guarantee every worker and sympathiser having the possibility of receiving the book at the lowest possible cost, to organise a special distributional apparatus by the Party in order to avoid the customary distributional expenditures; for the C. C. to absorb whatever distributional expenditures may accrue. Thus, it became possible to publish the "History" in the United States for sale at 40 cents per copy, whereas otherwise it would cost approximately \$3.00 per copy.

3. Each District and State organisation was obliged to organise a large mass meeting of workers to acquaint them with the book and its historic significance. As an example, the *New York* meeting, addressed by Browder, embraced 4,000 people.

4. All Party organisations were directed to organise special conferences with all trade union, mass, fraternal and youth groups and fractions, and among the national groups, to plan for the "History" being widely distributed through the membership of these organisations.

5. The district and state organisations were obliged to prepare special and attractive advertising material, leaflets, bulletins to popularise the appearance of the "History"; and all Party newspapers were directed to systematically publish articles to be provided by the Party leadership.

6. The national and state literature distributional apparatus was directed to organise a special campaign to distribute and popularise the "History" with personal canvassing, displays, etc.

7. The Central Committee opened a national essay contest around the "History," the winning writer to be invited as the guest to the next C. C. Plenum and the essay published in *The Communist*.

8. The Central Committee established a national Consultation Service for use by the Party and all workers with questions and problems associated with the study of the "Short Course."

The C. C. gave as a central political task to every member that of widely distributing the "History." Each branch was asked to order as many copies as they have members, plus as many copies as could be sold immediately to workers and sympathisers.

The study plans are based upon the admonition of Browder, who stated:

Once the book is in the hands of the readers, widely distributed, it will be a political task of the first magnitude to insure, in organised fashion, that it is made the best possible use of. That requires study and discussion. This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific text-book to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorised, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be applied to the most varied and different problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working-class movement also of our own country.

Here Browder touched a most basic feature of the method to study and absorb the richness of the "Short Course," i. e., *directly and practically as it applies to the history of the American labour movement and working class, the history of our country and basic problems faced by our Party*. While, undoubtedly, such an approach to the study of the "History" is not so in all cases, it is refreshing to read from the *Florida Guide*, organ of the Florida State organisation of April:

When we talk of rural work, organising agricultural workers, etc., we must learn from the C. P. S. U. which victoriously lead the Russian peasantry to Socialism. Let us carefully examine the forces we develop in our industrial centres and make possible their use in helping to organise the rural communities which play such an important part in the economic, social and political life of our State. To do this, every Comrade must own, read and study the "Short Course, History of the C. P. S. U."

In New York methods of study have been worked out through study groups in branches, districts and counties, the groups to be as homogeneous as possible. Classes are also organised for Party leaders and functionaries. Special classes were organised by the Workers' School, and a number of special lectures, based on the "History," embracing the following subjects: trade union, national question, foreign policy, Jewish question, struggle against alien ideologies, religion, Socialist economy, Culture, etc. Self-study plans were adopted, with consultation service provided by the Party at many centres throughout the City.

In Washington the Party obligated every Party member to obtain a copy and systematically checked the sale. They say "in all Party building activity the 'History' has already proven an invaluable instrument."

In Philadelphia the Party reports that "the new course on the 'History of the C.P.S.U.' has proved so popular that it is being given in two sections at the Workers' School," and that "following the issuance of the book, it is receiving an incredibly rapid and widespread sale." Here, too, the District Party organisation has published an extensive plan on methods of study.

*The Chicago Party* organisation, similarly, has published their suggestions on best methods of study and self-study.

*The California District* has publicised an all-embracing plan for the mass distribution and political utilisation of the "History."

In developing proper methods of study of the "Short Course" a number of district organisations correctly emphasise again and again that nothing can replace independent self-study and a personal, disciplined determination to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism. In this connection *Browder* stated at the C. C. Plenum:

With this book we will raise up in the U.S.A. a whole generation schooled in the best thought produced by humanity. It is wrong to believe that only a small circle of practical workers can cope with the task of mastering theory. The mastering of Marxist-Lennist theory is a matter of accumulation of time and effort. . . . All that is necessary is to have the desire and to exercise persistence and firmness in the effort to obtain this objective.

### III. POLITICS

In this section, our consideration is the attitude of the American Communist leaders with regard to various political parties in the United States. Careful reading of the exhibits will prove that Communist interest in American political movements has always been subordinated to the needs of the Soviet Union.

In 1923 the C. I. rep, John Pepper, gave much attention to the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Party. This he did in accordance with Comintern directives handed down at the Third World Congress (see, C, exhibit No. 7). Earlier American Communist efforts in the direction of "legality" had not met with conspicuous success.<sup>1</sup> Neither were Pepper's efforts to "Americanize" the Communist movement in the United States a much better achievement.<sup>2</sup>

When Senator Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin decided to form a separate party in 1924, the Communists tried to infiltrate this organization. The Senator, however, made very clear what he thought about the Communists.<sup>3</sup> To make matters worse for the American comrades, Moscow ordered them to "abandon" LaFollette as being hopelessly bourgeois. William Z. Foster has written the official version of this first Communist experiment with infiltration of legal party organizations.<sup>4</sup> According to Foster, the whole Communist effort was sabotaged by the right-wing opportunist, John Pepper, who was expelled from the Comintern in 1929 (this section, exhibit No. 6).

Hal Ware, who authored exhibit No. 37, was the organizer of one of the most formidable fifth columns in American history.<sup>5</sup> Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, Leo Pressman, John Abt, Charles Kramer, Victor Perlo, and Henry Collins at one time or other belonged to the Ware cell in the Federal Government. At least eight members of the group eventually became involved in Soviet espionage. J. Peters personally directed the activities of Ware's underground organization (this section, exhibit No. 18). And, while Ware's efforts toward the establishment of a "Workers and Farmers Government" in 1923 did not meet with success, the lessons which he learned at the time were not wasted in later years.

#### EXHIBIT NO. 35

[*Inprecorr*, July 26, 1923. Pps. 552-554]

#### THE FIRST MASS PARTY OF AMERICAN WORKERS AND FARMERS

By John Pepper (New York)

#### A PARTY OF 600,000 FARMERS AND WORKERS

Summed up in a single phrase, the historical significance of the July 3. Convention is this: the first real mass party of American workers and farmers has been founded in Chicago.

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, Chapter 3: The Workers Party.

<sup>2</sup> Gitlow, *Whole of Their Lives*, pp. 113-118.

<sup>3</sup> Gitlow, *I Confess*, pp. 208 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, Chapter 15: The Communists and the LaFollette Movement.

<sup>5</sup> *Communist Espionage in the United States Government*. Committee on Un-American Activities, August 30, 1948, pp. 1279-1280. Chambers, *Witness*, pp. 332-343.

The 740 delegates who assembled in Chicago represented not less than 616,000 workers and farmers.

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is a mass party. It is the first mass party of workers and farmers in the United States. Mass is something relative. Historical circumstances decide whether 10,000 or a million stand for a mass. But no one can deny that a party of 600,000 workers and farmers is a real mass party, if one remembers that the Socialist Party has only 12,000, the Workers Party only 20,000 members, and that the old Socialist Party at the zenith of its development had no more than 100,000 members.

The Socialist Party which has already long ago allied itself with the \$25,000 a year labor leaders against the class struggle, declares that the Federated Farmer Labor Party is no real party, because the big official leaders of the national and international unions are not in it, and because it is, in reality, simply the Communist Party under another name. The Socialist Party was not represented at the Convention. It declared that the laboring masses are not as yet ripe for organizing a Labor Party, and that without the big leaders, the Labor Party could never be organized. The Socialist Party press belittles the July 3. Convention because it organized the Federated Farmer Labor Party without the big leaders, and against them, though with the participation of 616,000 workers and farmers. The Socialist Party to-day is only a jackal of the battlefields of the class-struggle. It fears the battle, but always appears after the battle, in order to steal something from the spoils.

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is no artificial product of a mere doctrine, but is the result of a special American development. It does not ape the British Labor Party. It was not formed from the top by big officials of the American Federation of Labor and of national and international unions. It is a creation of the rank and file, a creation of local unions, city bodies, and state organizations. The new party does not like the British Labor Party, comprise nearly the entire working class, but only the left wing of the labor and farmer movements. And there is another respect in which it does not copy the British Labor Party—it accepted the Communists, the Workers Party, into its ranks, from the very first.

In spite of all Socialist theorists, the American labor movement does not wish to follow the "brilliant" example of the British labor leaders. The American Socialists longed for the time when they could imitate the example of the British Labor Party, the official Opposition of His British Majesty. But Gompers is not Smillie or Macdonald. He sells the workers openly to the capitalists of the old Republican and Democratic parties. And even Johnston and the leaders of the mighty Railroad Brotherhoods do not wish to form a Labor Party. It is their wish to deliver the votes of the workers and exploited farmers to the La Follette group, to the political representation of the lower middle class and well-to-do farmers. The Cleveland Conference of December 11, 1922 showed clearly that neither the Johnston clique, nor the Socialist Party sincerely wish to form a Labor Party. The progressive officials have shown themselves just as much fakers as the conservative officials.

As the Farmer Labor Party issued the call for the July 3 Convention, that meant nothing else but the liquidation of the last illusion that the big leaders of the American labor movement would ever lead

the workers in an independent political struggle. We Communists at that time criticised the split, not because we had any trust in the officials, but because we hoped that if the militant elements, would stay in the Conference for Progressive Political Actions, they would sweep along ever greater masses against the officials. At the moment that the split was made, when the militant elements decided to carry on an independent action, the Workers Party accepted the fact, and immediately declared that it would participate in the July 3 Convention.

#### LUCK AND END OF THE FARMER LABOR PARTY

The leaders of the Farmer Labor Party—Fitzpatrick, Nockles, Buck and Brown set the rank and file into motion. But as the mighty rank and file, dominated by the militant spirit, gathered at the Convention, these leaders were frightened back before their own bravery and began to fight against the Convention. They called together the Convention, in order to found a Labor Party. But when the Convention took its task seriously, and set itself to forming a Labor Party, they wished to disrupt the Convention. Like Cronos the Greek god, they wished to devour their own child, immediately upon its birth. But the Convention, like Zeus the son of Cronos, showed itself stronger than the officials of the Farmer Labor Party, and dethroned the whole officialdom of the Farmer Labor Party, proclaiming itself sovereign. Fitzpatrick, Buck and Brown played a sorry role in the Convention. In Cleveland that still spoke for the for the idea of a Labor Party. In Chicago they fought against the idea of a Labor Party. After the Cleveland Conference, Fitzpatrick declared that they were splitting because that Conference merely revived the vague phrase of progressive political action, but sabotaged the organization of an independent Labor Party. In Chicago, Fitzpatrick declared himself for the vague phrase of independent political action, and sabotaged the formation of an independent Labor Party. In Cleveland he made the split *for* the Labor Party. In Chicago he made the split *against* the Labor Party.

In Cleveland the Farmer Labor Party officials were still for accepting the Workers Party delegates. In Chicago they conducted a desperate fight against admitting the Communists. Fitzpatrick is an old fighter and an old opponent of Gompers. He has merited much in the labor movement, but at the July 3 Convention he delivered a speech against the Labor Party, against the Third International, against the Communists and against Foster, a speech which might just as well have been made by Samuel Gompers. The tactic of the officials of the Federated Farmer Labor Party has brought ruin to them and to the old Farmer Labor Party.

At the beginning of the Convention, Fitzpatrick was greeted with the greatest ovation and with the unanimous enthusiasm of all the delegates, but his last speech at the Convention was applauded by not more than thirty or forty persons. Fitzpatrick had entered the Ashland Auditorium as the future leader of the American working class, and left it as a politically isolated man. To-day he must choose. Either he realizes his mistake and returns to the militants or he must ally himself with Samuel Gompers against the militants.



## IT IS A MASS PARTY!

The Farmer Labor Party officials are now trying desperately to continue the existence of the old Farmer Labor Party. But none of them is a Jesus Christ who can, by miracle, infuse life into a corpse. All state organizations of the Farmer Labor Party have gone over to the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. Only the Cook County organization has remained within the old Farmer Labor Party. The delegates of Washington, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Montana, Idaho, and California declared themselves for the new party, and are to-day on the executive committee of the new party. All farmer organizations of Wisconsin, Nebraska and Oregon have joined the Federated Farmer Labor Party. The Non-Partisan Leagues of North Dakota, South Dakota and Idaho and the Progressive Party of Nebraska are to-day affiliated with the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. All delegates of the Miners' union, with the exception of two, joined the new Party. Of the 740 delegates, less than fifty delegates remained with Fitzpatrick, outside of the ranks of the new Party. The old Farmer Labor Party officials may now weep and wail that their Labor Party idea has been stolen, that their name has been taken away, and that they wish to continue their old Party and will do so. The truth is that not one farmer organization has gone along with them, that all the farmer organizations without exception have joined the new party. The chairman of the new party is a farmer, a leader of the Western Progressive Farmers. The first vice chairman is the representative of the Progressive Party of Nebraska which is a farmer organization. The second vice-chairman is a representative of the farmers of Wisconsin. The Farmer Labor Party has been reduced to a single organization—Cook County. They went forward to conquer the United States, and they have one county—Cook County.

It is just as ridiculous when the Socialist Party denies that the new Federated Farmer Labor Party is a real mass organization—the Socialist Party which was forced to give up the idea of the N. Y. State Farmer Labor Party, because it feared that the Workers Party would get the majority there, and even in New York City has thrown away the mask of an American Labor Party, and once more put up its ticket in the name of the Socialist Party.

## THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS PARTY

The new Party is a mass-party. It is a party of rank and file. It is a party, not only of workers, but also of farmers. It is a ridiculous lie to assert that the Federated Farmer Labor Party is nothing but a new name for the Workers Party. The Workers Party is a minority in the new Party, just as it was a minority in the Convention. Of the delegates, the Workers Party had only ten official delegates, and only 170 delegates who represented various trade unions and other labor organizations. And yet, the Convention was almost unanimous on all important questions. The old Farmer Labor Party officials never received more than fifty or sixty votes. It was not the Workers Party which dominated the Convention, but rather the idea of the formation of a genuine Federated Farmer Labor Party, and the Workers Party was nothing else than a driving force and ideological representative of the idea of independent political

action of the worker and farmer. It is just as ridiculous to say that the new Party organization is controlled by the Workers Party. The Workers Party is in the minority on the National Executive Committee and the Executive Council of the new Party. The Workers Party has not the ambition to control the new Party. Its only wish is to strengthen the militant spirit of the new Party, to develop its class-consciousness, and to evolve the new Party to a real party of the laboring masses. We do not wish to dominate or control the Federated Farmer Labor Party, but we assert proudly that without the unifying work of the Workers Party, this new Party would not have been organized, and that after the betrayal by the Socialist Party and the bankruptcy of the Farmer Labor Party, the Workers Party is the only political group in this country which fights consciously and militantly for the idea of a Labor Party.

The 600,000 workers and farmers who have formed the Federated Farmer Party, are not as yet Communists to-day. It would have been a blunder if the Workers Party had proposed a Communist program, because a big part of the workers and farmers would have simply run away. In the program of the new Party there are many theoretical mistakes, but that is no harm. The prospects of to-day are such, that even the left wing of the labor movement can be united only with these non-Communist, theoretical half-measures. Only thus could the 600,000 farmers and workers be united for organized action.

But there are two points in the resolutions which are an absolute guarantee that the new Party is not a reformist Party, but will be a really revolutionary, militant party. The first point is the one which declares that the masses must first capture political power before they can have the nationalization and public ownership. The second point is the one which declares that the land shall belong to its users. These two points bind the Party to the life and death struggle against capitalism.

#### THE NEW IMMEDIATE TASKS

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is organized, but the July 3. Convention means only the first step. We must go further, if we would prevent the movement from ending in a fizzle. Four great tasks face us in the near future.

First, we must give a broader basis to the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. We must call upon the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, and in addition upon all existing local labor parties, to unite with the new Party.

Second, we must exercise a greater and greater pressure from below upon the great national and international unions, to force them to join the new Party.

Third we must organize everywhere, from coast to coast, local, city and state units of the Federated Farmer Labor Party.

Fourth, we must immediately begin an energetic, nationwide campaign for the next convention of the Federated Farmer Labor Party, to meet early in 1924. At this convention, there must be present, not hundreds, but thousands of delegates. The next convention must unite, not only the left wing, but the majority of the working class for conscious political action, and the struggle against the capitalistic class parties, as well as against the lower middle class La Follette and Ford movements.

## EXHIBIT No. 36

[Inprecorr, August 16, 1923. Pp. 602-603]

## THE SLOGAN OF WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

By John Pepper (New York)

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, which met in June in Moscow, has issued a new slogan for the Communist parties of the world—the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government. The Communist International has by this means placed the old slogan of workers' government upon a broader social basis.

The new slogan of the Communist International is no new slogan for our Party in the United States.

Comrade Zinoviev declared at the session of the enlarged executive: "Our American Party, the Workers' Party, has already of its own accord found the slogan of workers' and farmers' government." The Workers' Party of America was the first party within the Communist International to apply the new slogan theoretically as well as practically.

## THE THEORETICAL FORMULATION

Theoretically, the problem was first brought up in my Labor Party pamphlet. There I said the following concerning the alliance of farmers and workers: "A Labor Party will grow provided it does not attempt to be a party for and of everybody, but rather a class party—of the working class. This should not mean that the Labor Party shall fail to include the working farmers,—that is, the tenant farmers and mortgage farmers. Such omission would be a mistake of the greatest magnitude from the standpoint of the future of the working class. *One of the most important conditions for the victory of a Labor Party is that it develop the cooperation of the farmers and workers, which has become traditional in America.* America is a favorable exception in this respect. Of European countries such collaboration takes place only in Soviet Russia. In the former third parties (Greenback Party, People's Party) the political leadership was in the hands of the farmers, the workers being merely an unconscious appendage. If a Labor Party is to be born and to grow, the relation must be reversed."

I then brought up the question upon a broader basis, in my pamphlet "Underground Radicalism", in the section, "Can We Utilize the Conflicts Within Capitalist Society?" I wrote in the pamphlet: "There are Communists who believe that we lose our revolutionary virginity when we take advantage of the class-divisions within the bourgeoisie. They believe that the only way to wage the class struggle, is to consider capitalistic society as one solid reactionary camp which always confronts the workers in a closed phalanx. But this is pure nonsense, and not revolutionary Marxism. Marxists have always asserted that the various divisions and conflicts within capitalistic society, must be used to the best advantage of the working class."

"Ferdinand Lassalle, the famous German Socialist, once said that the bourgeoisie is a single reactionary mass. But it was Karl Marx who protested and polemized against this unscientific and superficial assertion. It was Karl Marx who pointed out, in "Capital", that the

utilization of the class struggle between industrial capital and big landowners in the Forties, procured the important social concession of the ten-hour day for the English workers.

"From Marx to Lenin, every real Marxist has practised the tactic of analyzing the various class-divisions within capitalistic society, and exploiting the class-conflicts within the ruling class, for the benefit of the working class. The tactic of Lenin during the entire Russian revolution, is a masterly application of this tactic. The whole Russian revolution from the internal, political point of view, is but a proletarian utilization of the class-conflicts between the peasants on the one hand, and the big landowners and big capitalists on the other. Lenin's tactic was—alliance of workers with poor peasants, neutralization of the wealthy peasants, struggle against the big landowners and capitalists.

"The main difference between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was exactly this question of the utilization of the conflicts among the various classes. The Mensheviks claimed: It is a middle-class revolution, and therefore the working class should ally itself with the capitalists against the feudal landowners. The Bolsheviks said: This is a proletarian revolution, and therefore the right tactic is an alliance between workers and peasants against big capital and big land owners."

Then, upon the basis of this theoretical deliberation, the Agrarian Program of our Party set forth openly the slogan of workers' and farmers' government.

#### THE NEW SLOGAN BEFORE THE FARMERS

In practical agitation, the slogan of workers' and farmers' government was first applied in the St. Joseph trial of Foster. The Communists as the representatives of the working class, faced a farmer jury in the St. Joseph trial. I summed up the trial as follows in the *Worker* of April 14: "From every point of view the trial is a historical symbol. Foster, as the representative of the American militant workers, appears before the capitalist judiciary, and a farmer jury will render the verdict on him. Here are arrayed before us the three most important classes of American society—the worker, the capitalist, and the farmer. The worker is the defendant; the capitalist is the prosecutor; and the farmer will give the verdict. A historical symbol truly reflecting the historical situation. The working masses march on as the active forces of the revolution. The capitalists oppress these masses ever more fiercely through the governmental powers of suppression. And the victory in this ever sharpening class conflict will go to that class which receives the support of the farmers." The Central Executive Committee of our Party took up the question and decided that the whole defense was to be based mainly upon the common interests of workers and exploited farmers. In the Foster trial, C. E. Ruthenberg, with masterly clearness and in a popular manner that was exemplary, first presented the slogan of workers' and farmers' government before the farmer jury, and thereby also to the public at large.

The July 3rd Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party then provided the Workers' Party with a second and even greater opportunity to identify itself with the demands of the exploited farmers (even at the expense of 'Marxian clearness'), whereby the

slogan of workers' and farmers' government was turned, from the slogan of the Workers' Party, into the slogan of the great masses of the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

#### REVOLT OF AMERICAN FARMERS

Of course, the chief motive has been mainly the social and political development of the United States itself. We could not but realize that a portion of the labor aristocracy, and most of the high officials of the trade unions are hopeless for the cause of the revolution, having definitely allied themselves with the capitalists. At the same time we saw that the exploited, tenant and mortgage farmers are revolting with constantly increasing bitterness against the capitalists and the capitalist government. The situation to-day is such in the United States, that the capitalists and the old capitalist parties fear the revolt of the farmers more than the action of the working class, which is split up into so many divisions and led by so many reactionary leaders. We have seen that all third party movements in the past became mass parties only when, in addition to the urban elements, the lower middle class and workers, they were also joined by the rebellion of the farmers.

#### THE LESSONS OF EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

But apart from the development in America, the lessons of European revolutions have convinced us that the support of the farmers is necessary, to achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution and to maintain the power of the laboring masses.

History shows us that all revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have received the initiative from the cities. The great French Revolution and the revolution of 1848 in France, Germany and Hungary, were led by the urban middle class. The proletarian revolution in 1917 in Russia and in 1919 in Hungary had the urban workers as the leading class. Since the birth of capitalist society, revolutions have always been led by one or the other of these two powerful classes of modern society which were created by capitalism itself—the capitalists or workers. But history shows us that only that revolution, which understood how to make an alliance with the farmers, could achieve victory or maintain the revolutionary class a long time in power. The great French Revolution was victorious, and could wage war for years against all feudal Europe, because the French bourgeoisie freed the peasants and gave them the land of the feudal aristocracy and the church. The German revolution in 1848 failed miserably because the cowardly German middle class did not dare to free the German serfs. When the Habsburgs dispersed the Frankfort National Assembly with bayonets, not one hand was raised to defend the revolution. But on the other hand, the Hungarian revolution of 1848 could maintain itself for years and conduct a victorious war against the Habsburgs because Ludwig Kossuth, with revolutionary instinct, won the peasants over to the revolution and gave them land and freedom. The great proletarian revolution of 1917 in Russia is the achievement of the working class; but the proletariat would have lost power ten times over, and could not have waged revolutionary war on fourteen fronts for years, if it had not given land and freedom to the Russian peasants. It ought not be forgotten that

the Communist workers of red Petrograd and the genius of Trotzky organized the Red Army, but that four fifths of the masses of the Red Army consisted of peasants who defended their newly acquired land against Czarism and counter-revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian proletarian revolution of 1919 failed in four and a half months because it had not understood how to secure the alliance of the peasants with the workers. They carried out the "theoretically correct" socialization of land, instead of giving the land to the peasants, as was Lenin's policy in Russia. Thereby, they made the social basis for the Hungarian revolution too narrow for it to be able to live and be victorious.

The history of revolutions teaches us that the revolutionary class must be able to bring all discontented classes under its leadership. It must understand this under the penalty of death for the revolution; otherwise it drives the other classes into the arms of the counter-revolution. The *revolutionary peasant soldiers* of Napoleon, Kosuth and Trotzky fought against the counter-revolution, while the Frankfort Assembly in 1848 and the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship of 1919 were overthrown by the *counter-revolutionary peasant soldiers* of Habsburg and Horthy.

#### THE WORKING CLASS MUST LEAD

The farmers, even when they are discontented and rebellious, could never play an independant political role, and could never rule independently. The history of the great German Peasants' Revolt of the sixteenth century shows this just as clearly as does the history of the peasants' government of Stambulisky in Bulgaria in the twentieth century. Only centralized classes, that is, only the capitalist class or the working class can seize or hold the centralized government for a long time.

#### EXHIBIT No. 37

[Inprecorr, August 9, 1923. P. 589]

#### THE FARMERS IN THE NEW AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

By Hal M. Ware

The whole system of American agriculture and land tenure is bankrupt. During the last census period the farm mortgage debt increased more than it had in 130 years before 1910. It jumped from a little more than 1,500,000,000 Doll. in 1910, to nearly 8,000,000,000 in 1920, and has increased more rapidly since. To this figure add chattel mortgages, taxes, interest, promissory notes, and store debts, and you get a staggering total, with about the same chance of being paid as has the German war debt.

Throughout the country these cold statistics are reflected in the tragic human dramas of foreclosures, tax sales, child slavery, increasing tenantry, and suicides. This is the story the farmers brought to the July 3rd Convention. For the farmer there is nothing left but a new deal. He has reached the primitive necessity to fight for his land.

The usual farm mis-leaders were noticeably absent. But the militants were there. Wm. Bouck, for instance; any one who has followed the National Grange movement knows of his courageous

struggle out in Washington. Appreciation of his type of leadership was shown when he was elected permanent chairman of the Convention. And these farmers had come to cement an alliance with the industrial workers, through a Federated Party. Every time a pussy-footer spoke for "postponement," a militant former rose up and demanded the immediate formation of the Party they came to create.

"Dad" Walker, a vigorous, white-haired pioneer member of the North Dakota legislature, voiced the imperative demands from the soil. He had left his farm work piling up, and come 1,000 miles in a Ford with four other delegates, in order to get something done. He wanted no pussyfooting, and said so. He demanded, the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Another militant farmer was Brother Bowles, a cherry farmer from Washington, who represented the Farmer-Labor Party. He stated his determination to go with the rest of the farmers in insisting upon the formation of the new party. The Non-Partisan League delegate from California came late, but he soon dispelled all doubt of his position. "I don't know what you've done," he said, "but I do know that a group of farmers back in California will skin me alive if I go back without a Labor Party. Those fellows dug up 10 Doll. apiece to send me here to get it. Our motto is 'We'll stick,' and you can count on it."

W. H. Green, another farmer from Nebraska, and Brother Fedje, member of the North Dakota legislature, were active. A committee of nine was elected by the farmer caucus to draw up the agrarian demands of the Party. It represented a cross-section of the farmers present. Besides Bouck and Bowles from Washington, Walker of North Dakota, Mrs. Hanson of Wisconsin, a dirt farmer's wife, and just plain farmers, there was also Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, Comings, and H. Samuels who ran for Governor of Idaho on a farm mortgage moratorium plank. The latter is also on the National Committee of the Non-Partisan League.

The demands of the farmers were drawn up in five points, as follows:

1. The land was created for all people and we demand a system of land tenure that will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users of the land.
2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, communication, natural resources, and public utilities, to be operated by and for the people.
3. The issue and control of all money and credit by the Government, for use instead of profit.
4. All war debts to be paid by a tax on excess profits.
5. A moratorium for all working farmers on their farm mortgages for a period of five years.

Here is the voice of the farmers who have their feet on the soil. Significant above all is the fact that these demands were made in a convention dominated by the industrial workers, and passed unanimously. The alliance between workshop and farm has been cemented. Unlike other political revolts of the farmers, this one has its roots in their economic organizations. It was delegated from farm organizations that joined hands with the rank and file of Labor.

The farmers have no illusions about the new Party. They know it will not have the mushroom growth of the Non-Partisan League,

nor will it be a Party dominated by the agricultural elements, as was the Populist revolt. They have learned the futility of "farmer friends" and "farm bloc," with their miserable patchwork legislation. They have joined the Federated Farmer-Labor Party knowing that it is but the beginning of a long, hard struggle by the workers and working farmers for control of the Government. They know that only through such a coalition, and such a struggle, can they achieve their end—the land.

## EXHIBIT No. 38

[Inprecorr, June 12, 1924. Pp. 334-335]

## THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS AND LA FOLLETTE

By I. Amter

The statement of Senator La Follette on May 28 that he will have nothing to do with a party of which the Communists are a part, and warning the workers and farmers not to participate in the convention of June 17 at St. Paul, Minnesota, at which a National Farmer Labour Party is to be formed, is a most cheering bit of information.

Among other things, La Follette stated that the Communists have only destructive intentions in taking part in the formation of the party and are merely following the instructions of the Communist International. This is not at all new either to the Communists of America or the workers and exploited farmers. The Communists have not concealed from the exploited masses of America that the only thing that will help them in the struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist government is the establishment of a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. As the workers and exploited farmers, however, do not perceive this necessity and are still unwilling to fight for these aims, the Workers Communist Party is ready to aid them in any independent political action and in the formation of an independent political party to conduct the struggle against the capitalist parties and capitalism.

To this end, the Workers Communist Party has been most active in the formation of local and state Farmer Labour Parties. It has sought and found the co-operation of the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party, within which has been formed the Farmer-Labour Federation, embracing the organized workers of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, the three industrial centers of Minnesota, and the poorest farmers, and actually controlling the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party. In the primaries for the nomination of the candidates of the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party, the Workers Communist Party has put up Communist candidates, who advocate the full Communist program. Despite this fact, the Minnesota workers and exploited farmers have not been abashed, but have been willing to co-operate with the Workers Communist Party. Even the liberal group, the "Committee of 48", has not been frightened, but has stated openly that the June 17, convention must include ALL groups of workers and farmers, irrespective of their philosophy. But even if the Workers Communist Party had tried to conceal its purpose—which it has never done—its activity in the political field and in the trade unions has been perfectly clear. Every practical demand that the Communists have made in the interest of the workers has been attacked



by the bureaucrats as Bolshevik. The very idea of independent political action and an independent Farmer Labour Party has been assailed as a machination of Moscow—regardless of the fact that a farmer labour party has existed in the United States since 1919 under the leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labour.

The statement of La Follette will have a most wholesome effect. At the same time, it is clear evidence of the importance and power of the June 17 convention. The economic reports in the capitalist papers indicate quite clearly that the bourgeoisie of America is scared. The capitalist papers do not know who the candidates of the capitalist parties will be and what programs will be adopted. What terrifies them most is the formation of a "third" party. The present economic crisis in America is attributed in great part to this feeling of "insecurity". This "third" party, however, intended to hold its convention on July 4 and has as its aim, not the formation of a new party, but the endorsement of the "progressive" candidate of either of the capitalist parties. The Railroad Brotherhoods, the independent railway unions outside of the American Federation of Labour, which comprise the real aristocracy of American labour and are arch-conservative, are the backbone of this convention. Their leaders state openly that endorsement of a capitalist candidate is the probable outcome of the July 4 convention.

Why is La Follette taking a position against the June 17 convention? The movement for the formation of a National Farmer Labour Party has assumed great momentum. The agricultural crisis, the crashing of a large number of country banks, and particularly the sudden industrial crisis which has set in in the past six weeks after a period of slowly growing depression, and above all the complete indifference of the government to the increasing misery of the exploited farmers and of the industrial workers, have opened the eyes of the workers and exploited farmers to the absolute necessity of acting politically independently of the capitalists and the capitalists parties. State and local farmer labour parties are being formed in every part of the country. The movement has not been localized, but extends from Massachusetts to California, finding its strongest expression, however, in the middle west. In the corn and wheat states of the middle west, according to government reports one-quarter of the farmers are bankrupt; four-sevenths of the total farm income is used to pay taxes and interest on mortgages and debts; fifty per cent as many banks have failed between 1920 and 1923 as during the whole period from 1902 to 1923; the purchasing power of farm products is less than half of what it was before the war; the steel industry, which was operating at 90 to 95 per cent of its capacity in the month of March, dropped 25 per cent in three or four weeks; the coal mining industry is operating at 25 per cent of capacity, in some fields at only 10 per cent of capacity; the automobile industry dropped 25 per cent in capacity in a few weeks; the needle and packing industry are demoralized; more and more textile mills are closing; the shoe and furniture industries are suffering very seriously; the railways are prescribing "stringent economy" and in consequence are laying off thousands of men; the building boom, which came to a close in the past year in the West, has at last broken in New York, where speculation has been rife.

These are a few manifestations of the present time which are driving the workers and exploited farmers to the formation of a National

**Farmer Labour Party.** It is the economic factors with their political reactions which are worrying the capitalists and capitalist parties. And there is no way out for the capitalists. The international market is saturated, the innovations and improvements have been fully carried out, trade is dull, the wholesale and retail market is stocked up. And there is no hope of brisk foreign trade, which in the past six months has slowly diminished. Hence the capitalists regard the formation of a party of workers and exploited farmers with great concern.

The "third" party will not be formed. On March 18, La Follette indicated very clearly that he would not break with the Republican Party—which should have been clear to any one who knows La Follette and his policies. La Follette has put up a radical program and demands that the Republican Party orientate itself toward this program. The Republican Party will not adopt his full program, but will accept some points. If Coolidge will not accept the program, another candidate acceptable to the "insurgents" in the Republican Party will be nominated—despite the fact that Coolidge today apparently has sufficient delegates to the Republican convention pledged to support him, to ensure his nomination. And there is always the hope the Democratic Party will nominate a "progressive" candidate. The sponsors of the "third" party have sabotaged the formation of a farmer labour party for two years, and have been driven further and further away from the idea by the activity of the Communists.

Hence, La Follette, and with him the whole capitalist class of the United States, have realized that the June 17, convention is the only danger confronting them in the coming presidential election—hence their vicious campaign against the Communists and the farmer labour party. This also accounts for the statement of La Follette denouncing the Communists. La Follette's declaration will have the effect of driving all vacillating elements away from the June 17 convention, so that it will be a pure workers' and exploited farmers' convention. More than that, it will drive out all elements which are unwilling to form a real fighting party and who have not yet recognized in the activities of the Communists, that they are the best fighters in the country. La Follette has rendered the June 17 convention a great service, since the great masses of the workers and farmers have had faith in him. They will now regard him as what he is: an ambitious politician striving only for office and power.

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The success of President Roosevelt's New Deal reforms made the Communists very unhappy.<sup>1</sup> It is true that third period tactics as promulgated at the Sixth World Congress permitted the comrades to promote "partial reforms" whenever they could help to prepare the way for the final overthrow of the capitalist order (sec. C, exhibit No. 11). On the other hand, the persistence of the great depression had given rise to the hope that the transitional stage of seeking reform measures might be bypassed.<sup>2</sup> Hence the anger of the comrades when they beheld President Roosevelt accomplishing things which they pretended to desire, but which in reality they sought only in order to subvert the American way of life.

<sup>1</sup> Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> See the quotations from Olgin's *Why Communism?* in the introductory note to exhibit No. 17 of the present section.

## EXHIBIT No. 39

[*The Communist International*, September 15, 1933. Pp. 596-597, 603]

## THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAMME OF ATTACK UPON THE WORKING CLASS!

By Vern Smith

The National Industrial Recovery Act (N. I. R. A.) is the central piece in the long line of legislation which the Roosevelt administration at Washington pushed through in its first four months.

To understand some of the N. I. R. A. peculiarities, Roosevelt's tactics must be examined for a moment. The President, and his advisers, the now famous "Brain Trust," and also the biggest business men who stay more out of the limelight, speculate on the uncritical, ardent wish of the petty-bourgeoisie, and a section of the proletarians and farmers for "good times again." It is apparent that the Roosevelt administration's tactic was to startle and shock the country into attention, make the wildest demagogic promises about "putting 6,000,000 men to work in three months," etc., and apparently back up these promises with a flood of novel and complicated legislation. The masses were told in frequent presidential speeches over nation-wide radio hookups, through a mobilisation of the capitalist press and all other agencies, that this legislation was bringing the "New Deal," good wages, short hours and prosperity.

This demagogic phase of the Roosevelt programme was carried out with really extraordinary skill, through the setting up of government propaganda bureaus similar to those used in the last war. So extreme and all inclusive was it, in its seizure of every method of publicity, that we find the extremely conservative Protestant Episcopal Church organ, *The Witness*, expressing some uneasiness in an August issue.

The first shock to the country was the closing of the banks, followed by the government economy measures, by the currency inflation bills (a number of them), by the bill appointing a Railroad Conciliator, by the Civilian Conservation Camps, by the Oil Conservation Bill, the by Farm Bill, by the 30-Hour Bill, by the National Industrial Recovery Bill, and now by the codes and arbitration court established under the N.I.R.A.

Since the Roosevelt administration was plainly relying on carrying things with a rush, it wasted little time raguing any point that met even slight obstacles in congresses, or from business men, because of division of interest. Such points of legislation were simply side-tracked for the moment, and re-appeared in slightly disguised form in the next bill proposed, on whatever subject. For example, the Black 30-Hour stagger-plan bill slipped to one side, and its essential stagger-plan features are now law in the National Industrial Recovery Act. Practically the whole Roosevelt Programme was successfully passed through congress, the Republican and Democratic parties, with few exceptions, uniting their votes for the Democratic President's measures.

Certain general principles appear in the Roosevelt programme, in all bills. Lurking under the demagogic phrases with which all are burdened, there can be found in each one, a scheme to capture foreign markets by reducing costs through reducing standards of living of the working masses, a scheme to set the farmers against the workers,

and those working in industry against the unemployed, a scheme to concentrate dictatorial powers in the hands of the President, and a scheme to further concentrate industry in the hands of the biggest companies, the richest finance capitalists. Roosevelt, for publicity reasons, dared to bring Morgan himself under investigation for evasion of income tax laws, but it is worth noting that no harm was done to Morgan.

The banks were closed, the executive branch of the Government was made the sole judge as to which banks could re-open, and those were reopened which were attached to the biggest financial lords; many of the little fellows being simply closed out of business.

The President, through his Cabinet, was given, in the name of economy, the right to discharge Government employees and cut their wages almost at will.

The inflation bills give the executive the right to lower the purchasing power of the dollar within extremely wide limits, and thus to lower the standard of living.

The "Railroad Conciliator," a presidential appointee, can order mergers of hitherto competing lines, and during his régime there has already taken place a considerable decrease in employment of railroad workers. The Interstate Commerce Commission reported for June that there were 75,000 fewer railroad men at work than in June, 1932, these dismissals taking place in addition to the 700,000 or more laid off before June, 1932.

The Civilians' Conservation Camps ("Reforestation" or Forced Labour Camps) take some 250,000 young men from the relief lists in the cities, and place them under the orders of army officers. The relief the families were getting is replaced by 80 cents a day taken out of the boys' dollar a day wages. Of course, this is also a wage-cutting scheme for industry in general because of the example set. It is, likewise, the first step toward creating a reserve army for the next war.

The Oil Conservation Bill gives a presidential appointee the right to arbitrarily limit the supply of oil, and force mergers and pooling, naturally in the interests of the biggest corporations.

The Farm Bill promises the farmers a bonus if they show proof they have reduced their acreage one-fifth. This bonus is to be paid out of a tax on the first processor of farm products, which the processor is openly invited to pass on to the consumer by adding it to the sale price of his goods. This provision cuts in all directions. The limitation of the crop under capitalist competition raises the price of food which the mass consumer buys, including frequently, the poor farmer as well.

Wild speculation by grain gamblers and bad crop reports, resulted in a sudden doubling of the price of wheat this spring, raising it to around \$1 a bushel, after which there was a sudden downward pitch again but not back to the old levels. The \$1.38 "processors' tax" per barrel of flour was more than passed on to the working masses in the shape of 20 to 30 per cent. increase in the price of bread. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace issued a public statement, July 9, that all master bakers should raise the price of a five-cent loaf of bread to six and one-third cents, or reduce the size of the loaf. The American Bakers' Association declared a two-ounce reduction in the size of the loaf.

The National Industrial Recovery Act is the crowning piece of the Roosevelt Administration legislation, and in it are all his principles of concentration of capital, of dictatorial powers for the President, of attempts to divide the workers of lower standards of living—all smothered in the most extreme and clever demagoguery. This bill was signed and made law June 16, 1933. It is to operate for two years, but may be ended sooner by proclamation of the President, or joint resolution of Congress.

The N. I. R. A. begins with the usual declarations about "reviving industry," etc., and proceeds to set aside the Federal Anti-Trust Law, and any federal or state industrial or labour statutes which may interfere with its operation.

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The C. P. of U. S. A. and the revolutionary Unions have given, in general, a correct estimation of the Roosevelt programme, but in definite cases the demagoguery of Roosevelt has even influenced certain sections of revolutionary organisations. For example, in the coal industry, in the localities where our revolutionary national union of miners led the struggle, the question of the miners entering this union arose, and not the reactionary United Mineworkers of America. Wide masses of the miners, succumbing to the promises of Roosevelt, nevertheless joined the United Mineworkers. Our supporters should have continued their exposure of the trickery of this union and Roosevelt, but at the same time they should have entered this union together with the working masses. This would have helped them to rapidly learn how to co-ordinate the struggle inside this reactionary union with the struggle outside it and how to lead these masses when they are disillusioned, realising that the code offers them absolutely nothing.

A series of questions crop up, for example, concerning the method of penetrating the factories, to the extent that the code does not entail the taking on of a large number of new workers. The decision of this question consists in the utilisation of the fluctuation of labour power, considerably increased by the code, and in strengthening the unity of the employed and unemployed.

In such a rapid progress of events our Press must have greater flexibility and explain the codes to the workers in the factories and pits more concretely.

Together with this, the Press must show the workers more clearly what to do, how to organise the first groups of opposition to lowering of the standard of life, which demands to advance, what to do in each individual case.

Limitations in reference to negroes figure in many codes, and the struggle against these must continue on the basis of a precise explanation to negroes as also whites, of the meaning of the Roosevelt policy, and also not only for the workers in general, but separately for them.

The struggle against the war danger coincides now with that of the unemployed in connection with the events taking place in the forced labour camps and on relief works.

It is also necessary to consider that Roosevelt, most probably, will respond to the disillusionment of the mass with sharpened terror. So far he has tried to deceive them, but this cannot go on indefinitely.

Our Party and Trade Unions must be ready. If the problems before the Party are great, then great are also the prospects of success, the growth and leadership of extending struggles, and if our Party previously reacted very slowly, we already have signs of the fact that it is now working better and will, in future, work still better.

After Stalin reversed his political strategy in early 1934 in order to meet the threat of rising Nazi power (see B, exhibits Nos. 23 and 46), Communist Parties all over the world began a slow and confused retreat from ultra radical third period tactics.<sup>1</sup> Instead of scorning Socialist parties as Fascist organizations soon to be liquidated, attempts were now begun to infiltrate them.<sup>2</sup>

At first, the comrades felt ill at ease in relinquishing their infantile left-wing attitudes. But after Dimitroff had clarified everything at the Seventh World Congress, the shift to the right picked up speed. In the matter of boring from within the American Socialist Party, the Stalinists ran into considerable trouble from the expelled Trotskyites.<sup>3</sup> It had occurred to the latter that they might do some boring on their own.

#### EXHIBIT No. 40

[*The Communist International*, November 5, 1934. Pp. 740-742]

### THE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FOR A UNITED FRONT WITH THE S. P. OF THE U. S. A.

By Sam Brown

At the National Convention of the American Socialist Party held last June, a new "Left" leadership came into office. This new leadership professed, in vague terms, to be in favor of united front actions with the Communist Party. In this, the new S.P. leadership reflected the tremendous pressure exerted upon them by the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Large sections of the rank and file of the S.P. have been in favor of united front actions and have been participating, despite the official leadership of the Party, in many united front actions with the Communist Party.

The Communist Party addressed to the S.P. Convention a letter with the proposal for united front actions. The "Left" leadership which dominated the Convention refused to act on the united front proposals of the Communist Party. However, it did not dare, in view of the sentiments of the rank-and-file delegates, to reject openly the united front letter of the Communist Party. The Convention decided to refer the united front letter to the newly elected National Committee for final action.

Following the Socialist Party Convention, the Central Committee of the Communist Party addressed another letter to the newly elected National Committee of the Socialist Party. The united front proposals were made in the midst of the huge strike wave, in the midst of the movement for local general strikes and when the great heroism of the stubbornly battling American working class was met by the bayonet charges and machine-gun fire of the National Guard. In this letter the C. P. called attention to the fact that *some of the leaders of the S. P., now on its Executive Committee, have on*

<sup>1</sup> Franz Borkenau, *World Communism*, New York, Norton, 1939, Chapter XXII: Hitler the Turang Point. Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 83-84, 161, 165, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Williams (Oxford University), *Politics in Post-War France*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1954 p. 45. Louis Waldman, *Labor Lawyer*, New York, Dutton, pp. 204-206, 268-271.

<sup>3</sup> Cannon, *American Trotskyism*, pp. 216-250.

*many occasions expressed a readiness to enter into united front negotiations.* The united front proposals of the Party were as follows:

1. Decisive wage increases and reduction in hours, supporting a bold strike movement to win them;
2. For the immediate enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill;
3. For the immediate enactment of the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill to secure for the farmers the possession of their lands and tools, and to provide abundance of food to the masses;
4. For the immediate enactment of the Bill for Negro Rights;
5. For the united struggle against war and fascism;
6. For the broadest possible united action in localities, in factories, in trade unions, and on every question affecting the workers and toiling masses, to win better conditions.

The new "Left" National Committee of the Socialist Party met the C. P.'s official letter proposing united front actions with complete silence. The C. P. in the month of July sent a second letter. The Socialist Party did not answer the second letter of the C. P. either. The silence of the S. P. leaders was in reality only a confirmation of the growing urge for unity expressed by the rank and file of the Socialist Party.

The C. P. did not confine itself with its united front appeals to the National Committee of the Socialist Party. The C. P. addressed its appeals also directly to the various locals of the Socialist Party. The *Daily Worker* has developed an energetic united front campaign addressed to the membership of the Socialist Party. In this campaign the *Daily Worker* also popularized the experience of the united front activities in France and Austria, which exerted an influence on the united front within the Socialist Party.

The energetic activities of some of the District organizations in appealing directly to the Socialist Party locals broke the ice. A number of the S. P. locals endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill sponsored by the Party and participated in united front actions in the various unemployed struggles and in the preparations for the Congress Against War and Fascism. The present strike wave has emphasized the growing urge towards unity and class solidarity on the part of the American working class. The growing fascist-like terror drive in the strike wave has deepened amongst the Socialist rank and file the desire for immediate united front actions against the growth of fascism and for the defense of the civil rights of the workers. The splendid leadership of the Party in the general strike movement in San Francisco, the effectiveness of united front actions as demonstrated by the heroic strike of the San Francisco longshoremen, have raised the standing of the Party as the leader of the united front movement.

The movement in the Socialist Party locals for united front actions has finally compelled Norman Thomas, the new "Left" leader of the S. P., to make some vague statements in favor of the united front.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party took up the remarks of Norman Thomas, and on August 17 Comrade Browder, the general Secretary of the C. P., sent a letter addressed to Norman Thomas proposing immediate discussion on the C. P.'s united front proposal. In answering Comrade Browder's letter, Norman Thomas gave an evasive reply in which he advanced the usual arguments about the "lack of sincerity and good faith". Thomas, without

completely shutting the door for further discussion, wrote in his letter to Comrade Browder as follows:

. . . I expect to take up the entire matter [united front proposals] at the meeting of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party over Labor Day. My own personal feeling is, as I have said many times before, that enormously desirable as united action is *against* war and fascism and *for* certain specific measures between your Party and ours, it cannot be achieved if your Party still regards it as primarily a weapon to destroy the Socialist Party or for leadership. The basis for a united front is good faith. This does not mean that each Party may not reserve its right to criticize the other and to appeal for support for itself. It does mean that we have to keep to fair play in the way in which we fight and especially in the field in which we are cooperating.

Comrade Browder, in his answer to Thomas' letter proposing direct conversations, wrote as follows:

. . . You state the chief obstacle is the opinion of many Socialist Party leaders that the Communist Party regards united action "as primarily a weapon to destroy the Socialist Party". This opinion is incorrect. The Communist Party regards united action as primarily a weapon to protect the immediate needs of the workers and other toiling elements of the population, to defeat the attacks of the capitalists upon their living standards and civil rights, and to prepare the masses through their experiences for the struggle in the tasks involved in moving forward to greater aims. . . . The essence of the problem of good faith and fair play can be found in determining concretely what is necessary to carry out fully a particular action. This in turn is determined by an agreed-upon set of demands, such as we have proposed recently, but subject to mutual determinations) and methods of carrying out joint actions in very concrete terms. The Communist Party is prepared for the effort to arrive at such an agreement. The Communist Party is prepared to demonstrate its good faith in any agreement for united action by the only method through which good faith can be demonstrated, by carrying through the agreed upon action with all of its energy. . . . The Communist Party is prepared, upon the basis of agreed-upon actions, to conclude an agreement for restraining and establishing limitations upon mutual criticism between the cooperating organizations during the course of the action. . . .

At the meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party held in the first week of September, a committee headed by Comrade Robert Minor appeared to make the united front proposals of the C. P. The National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party rejected the proposal for immediate united front actions. However, in view of the united front movement within its local organizations, the S. P. leadership did not bluntly, as in the past, reject the C. P. united front proposals outright. The National Executive Committee of the S. P. officially declared that it "has postponed united front negotiations on the basis of the invitation from the Communist Party till the next meeting of the N. E. C.". The answer of the Socialist N. E. C. to the Central Committee of the C. P. is a diplomatic statement calculated to discredit the idea of the united front and at the same time head off a strong opposition movement within the S. P. against the attitude of the S. P. leadership on the united front proposals of the C. P. In that statement the S. P. leadership declared that it,

. . . realizes the immense value to the labor movement of a united action of all elements against the danger of war, fascism and continued exploitation. We realize that such united action on specific issues by no means requires organic unity of Parties between the Socialists and Communists. United action does require evidence of good faith and the intention to use any agreement which may be arrived at, not as a maneuver for power within the labor movement but as an instrument in the struggle against an oppressive master class.

Further the letter states its objection to the term and charges of social-fascism, and that

. . . the ultimate success of a united action movement will best be served if we postpone consideration of further negotiations between our two parties until



our next meeting about Dec. 1, by which time we shall have had opportunities to observe the decisions of the Communist International Congress and the success or failure of the French agreement. We shall also have had time to get the advice of the Labor and Socialist International to which we are writing, urging that body again to renew its attempt to find an honorable basis for a reasonable agreement.

Least of all could this statement of the Socialite Party afford to make an open and direct rejection regarding local united front actions. The S. P. statement winds up with the declaration that:

Meanwhile we are aware that there are questions arising from time to time, mostly in the field of civil liberties, in which it is desirable that there shall be effective local action for the defense of workers' right. We are therefore drawing up a plan to govern possible cooperation in this field. The success or failure of this kind of cooperation will do much to determine the nature of the action which we shall take at our next quarterly meeting.

Why does the S. P. leadership declare that "it is desirable that there shall be effective *local* [united front] action"? In the past, even those in the S. P. leadership who made statements in favor of the united front warned the local organizations not to enter into any united front actions with the C. P. without the permission of the N. E. C. In the past the S. P. leadership issued strict prohibitive orders threatening disciplinary measures against those locals that will participate in united front actions with the C. P. This time the National Committee feared that an open prohibition of local united front actions would only increase the opposition of the rank and file towards its leadership and therefore it offers its "cooperation" so that it might check, limit and control the movement in the localities for the united front. Yes, indeed, the whole secret of the "subtle", diplomatic answer and refusal of the S. P. leadership to the united front lies in the response of the locals of the S. P., to the united front appeals of the C. P.

It is the united front actions of the locals of the S. P. in response to the C. P. united front proposals that will determine the final promised answer of the Socialist Party leadership to the persistent united front proposals of the Central Committee of the C. P.

#### EXHIBIT No. 41

[Inprecorr, December 28, 1935. Pp. 1749-1750]

### INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

By A. B. Magil (New York)

The internal struggle in the Socialist Party of America has finally resulted in a split. Thus far the actual split has occurred only in New York City, but it is already producing repercussions in the party nationally.

The split was precipitated by the decision of the "Old Guard," the extreme right-wing group which is in control of the New York City and State apparatus of the Socialist Party, to reorganise the party in the city in order to expel or isolate all Left elements. On December 6, when a meeting of the "Old Guard"-controlled City Central Committee refused to reconsider this decision, the Left delegates to the Central Committee walked out. They immediately established new headquarters, declared themselves the legal City

Central Committee, representing the official Socialist Party, and selected Charles Garfinkel, who fifteen years ago was a socialist member of the state legislature as temporary chairman.

The Left Socialists, who are led by the group known as the "Militants," include in their ranks the outstanding national leader of the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas, who was its candidate for President in 1928 and 1932. Though they were in a minority in the old City Central Committee, because the reactionaries so manipulated the system of representation as to retain control, the Lefts claim the support of the majority of the active members of the party in New York City. In addition, the entire organization of the Young People's Socialist League has announced its support of the new Left City Central Committee. Nationally, the Lefts are in control in a number of important cities and states, and these are swinging behind the Left wing in New York City.

The meetings of the branches of the Socialist Party that have been held since the split tend to bear out the claim of the Lefts that the majority of the active membership is behind them. Thus far (December 12) 22 of the 51 branches have met, and of these, 16 have voted to support the Left wing, and only six have declared their loyalty to the "Old Guard." Significantly, the branches to which the two leaders of the "Old Guard," Louis Waldman and Algernon Lee, belong voted overwhelmingly for the Left wing.

A further source of strength to the Left wing is the support of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, on which the Militants have a majority. While the N.E.C. will not officially declare itself on the situation till its meeting in February, it is significant that the organization committee of the N.E.C. has designated five of its members to attend a New York State conference which the Lefts are holding in Utica on December 28-29 in order to set up a new state organization.

The split in the Socialist Party comes as the culmination of a bitter factional struggle that developed after the national convention of the party in Detroit in June, 1934. That convention adopted a Declaration of Principles, which while confused on many points and permeated by sentimental pacifism, nevertheless marked a step to the Left. Another resolution, endorsing the idea of proletarian dictatorship, was defeated by only a narrow margin. The convention also elected a National Executive Committee on which a Left bloc, consisting of the Militants and their allies, were the overwhelming majority.

Following the convention, the reactionary "Old Guard" leaders launched a struggle against the Declaration of Principles despite the fact that it had been endorsed by a national referendum of the party membership. The "Old Guard" have as their core a number of the pre-war leaders of the Socialist Party, who were closely associated with the late Morris Hillquit, probably the most formidable perverter of Marxism that American social democracy has produced.

For years this group based itself not on the broad masses of industrial workers, but on the bureaucracy of the New York needle trades unions and the upper crust of better-paid workers in these unions, as well as on doctors, lawyers and other petty-bourgeois elements who played a leading role in the New York Socialist Party. A base, corrupting influence and a reservoir of financial and political support

for the "Old Guard" has been the Jewish "Daily Forward." This so-called Socialist paper, edited by the "Old Guard" leader, Abraham Cahan, has from the beginning of the century aped the methods of "yellow journalism," of the most sensational gutter-sheets. It is thoroughly opportunist, rabidly chauvinist, reeking with corruption, and its lying attacks on the Soviet Union are equalled only by the fascist Hearst press, with which, incidentally, the "Forward" has established close relations.

The development of the economic crisis in the United States undermined the social base of the "Old Guard" and created the crisis of reformism. As in other countries, increasing numbers of the rank and file of the Socialist Party began to move away from class collaboration and toward militant struggle. In 1932 the "Militant" group emerged, which drew into its ranks the younger and more active Socialists. The group has adopted, in the main, a positive attitude toward the Soviet Union, though at times the leader is influenced by the slanders of the "Old Guard" and the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite renegades from Communism.

The Left Socialists are by no means a homogeneous group, and their development has been characterized by typical Left reformist vacillations. As is often the case, the Lefts have talked while the Rights acted. Following the 1934 convention, which placed them at the head of the party, the Lefts repeatedly retreated before the "Old Guard," who behaved in the most arrogant fashion, sabotaging the decisions of the convention and carrying on an unprincipled struggle against the new National Executive Committee.

The real issue in this struggle has been the united front with the Communist Party. In the present period it is the united front that expresses the division between class struggle and class collaboration. The right-wing socialists have unfortunately understood this much better than the Lefts. Uncompromising hostility to the united front has been for the "Old Guard" both a banner and a club—a club with which they struck repeated blows at their Left opponents.

The leaders of the Left socialists, on the other hand, instead of fighting fire with fire, instead of rallying the majority of the party membership behind the banner of the united front in a struggle that would have quickly and decisively defeated the reactionary "Old Guard," tended to evade this central issue, permitting the "Old Guard" to assume the offensive, and frequently yielding to their demands.

This policy of conciliation and retreat finally led to the complete capitulation of the majority of the National Executive Committee to the "Old Guard" at the meeting of the N. E. C. on July 13-15. A so-called "harmony pact" was adopted, with only three of the eleven N. E. C. members voting against it, which gave the "Old Guard" everything they wanted. Point 1 of this document declared that "advocates of Communism and violence" were ineligible for membership in the Socialist Party. This meant a free hand to "Old Guard" to launch an expulsion drive against all militants and advocates of the united front. Another point provided for the extinction of the "Socialist Call," organ of the Left Socialists.

Though Norman Thomas, leader of the Lefts, who voted for this document, hailed it hopefully, the rank and file of the Left socialists were thoroughly disgusted. The Communist Party pointed out that

the peace which the pact was supposed to have created was a peace of death, and predicted that the fundamental issues which had not been settled would disrupt the pact and lead to a renewal and intensification of the struggle. It took only a few weeks for this prediction to come true.

Discussing this question, Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., declared at the November meeting of the Central Committee of the Party:

It is of enormous significance to establish what was the rock on which the peace pact was wrecked within a few short weeks after it had been signed. That rock was the issue of the united front in its most concrete expression in the daily work of activity of members of a trade union; specifically, the Teachers' Union. The 'Old Guard' demanded the unconditional subordination of the socialist teachers to the reactionary administration of the Teachers' Union in a move towards the right, in the wrecking of the democracy of the union and its subordination to the right-wing dictatorship. The issue was clear-cut, so immediate, so concrete that all the honest socialists, no matter what their degree of militancy is, no matter how deep their prejudices against Communists, no matter how many times or how energetically they fought against the united front, could no longer hesitate.

The collaboration established in the Teachers' Union was further extended at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labour. There Socialists and Communists worked together harmoniously in support of progressive policies, while the "Old Guard" were hand in glove with the reactionary Green-Woll clique.

The historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International have also been an important factor in furthering united action between the two parties despite the poisonous propaganda of the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite renegades, some of whom have entered the Socialist Party. One of the most important recent developments has been the setting up of a joint defence committee, consisting of Socialists, Communists, trade unionists and Liberals, to secure the release of Angelo Herndon, heroic young Negro Communist, who has been sentenced to eighteen to twenty years on the barbarous Georgia chain gang for organising unemployed workers. The activities of this committee resulted in a splendid victory when the Georgia lower court declared the law under which Herndon had been convicted unconstitutional, and released him on bail.

The internal struggle in the Socialist Party has now entered a new stage. And significantly, despite the efforts of the Left socialist leaders to evade the question of the united front, once more this is the rock on which the party has split. The immediate issue which precipitated the decision of the "Old Guard" to launch its expulsion drive under the euphemistic label of "reorganisation" was the debate on November 27 between the leader of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, and the leader of the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas.

This debate on the subject: "Which Road for American Workers—Socialist or Communist?" was arranged by the Socialist Call in New York City's largest hall, Madison Square Garden, which seats 20,000. The debate attracted nationwide attention and thousands were unable to get in. The appearance for the first time on the same platform of the outstanding leaders of the two working-class parties marked an important step toward the united front. This was recognised even by the capitalist press, the "New York Times," American capitalism's leading newspaper, commenting on the debate editorially. The two

most important Liberal weeklies, the "Nation" and the "New Republic," greeted the debate warmly and expressed the hope it would lead to closer collaboration between the two parties.

The "Old Guard" also recognised the united front implications of the debate and opposed it bitterly. It was, however, endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and the endorsement was given further emphasis by the fact that the national chairman of the party, Leo Krzycki, presided at the debate.

The fact that the Left socialist leaders have at last taken the offensive against the "Old Guard" is a hopeful sign. Among the membership of the Socialist Party sentiment for the united front is growing constantly. It is this sentiment that, despite the vacillations of leaders, will in the long run determine the outcome of the struggle. The Communist Party, in the spirit of Dimitrov's appeal, is doing all in its power to assist the Left socialists in finding the path of common action against the sinister forces of reaction that are rising on every hand.

In consequence of decisions made before, but openly promulgated at the Seventh World Congress, the CPUSA was permitted to modify its position with regard to President Roosevelt and the New Deal.<sup>1</sup> Now, a cautiously qualified approval of "partial reforms" became the order of the day. Earl Browder, in particular, misled the CPUSA into putting too much reliance upon Roosevelt's sincere interest in social legislation.<sup>2</sup> Labor unions also revealed their political immaturity by not voting for Communist candidates.

According to Foster, Vern Smith defected from the CPUSA because the party would not move further to the left in its repudiation of Earl Browder.<sup>3</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 42

[Inprecorr, January 23, 1937. Pp. 74-75]

#### UNITED STATES—THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS

By Vern Smith (New York)

According to the figures to hand a month after the elections, and not quite complete, the votes polled by the various parties in the presidential elections last November, were as follows:

Roosevelt, Democrat for President.....	26,791,401
Landon, Republican.....	16,301,164
Lemke, Union Party.....	690,344
Thomas, Socialist.....	159,949
Browder, Communist.....	90,175
Colvin, Prohibitionist.....	19,799
Aiken, Socialist-Labour.....	8,153

The Socialist-Labour Party is a tiny sect, the fragment left after the present American Socialist Party split away from what had been the main socialist movement in America up to the beginning of this century. It has absolutely no significance in the labour movement.

The prohibitionist vote indicates the failure to revive a once fairly strong movement.

Roosevelt's more than ten million plurality is the outstanding thing. Although Roosevelt ran ahead of his ticket in most election districts, the Democratic Party's control of congress was not weakened as was rather expected by all observers before the election, but was strengthened.

<sup>1</sup> Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 158, 173-174.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 334, 330-339.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 437.

Organised Labour came out for Roosevelt, and the formation of Labour Parties and Farmer-Labour and Progressive movements accounted for a good deal of the Roosevelt plurality. Thus in the state of New York, about 300,000 of Roosevelt's plurality of 1,404,296 votes came to him through the American Labour Party. Had the Farmer-Labour Party votes in Minnesota been subtracted from the Roosevelt vote, he would have lost the state to Landon.

We must consider that millions of voters became convinced late in the campaign that Landon was pro-fascist, and that millions voted for Roosevelt because of his promises to Labour and to the farmers.

The Socialist Party had a totally unrealistic approach; by its declaration that fascism was not an issue, it played into the hands of Republican demagogues, who also disclaimed fascism as an issue. In consequence, the Socialist vote of 884,781 in 1932 was cut down to about 160,000 this year.

The Communist Party did not make the gains in the vote for its presidential candidate which it expected, but when all the returns are in (Communist votes are counted last) and when the barring of the party from the ballot in Illinois, a great industrial state in which Communism is strong, as well as in other states, is considered, it will be seen that it lost very little if any from the presidential vote in 1932, which was 102,991.

But this is not the whole story of the Communist vote. More than ever before, the Communist local candidates secured votes far in excess of those of their party leader, running for president, was able to get. In New York City, for example, Browder got 32,172 votes, but Irving Schwab, much less known, C. P. candidate for the comparatively unimportant office of justice of the state court of appeals had a vote in the city of 66,247. And this is fairly typical of the situation throughout the country. It appears that the voters took to heart the Communist injunction to "Stop Landon and vote against fascism," but about half the Communist sympathisers, who showed they were sympathisers by voting for the lesser candidates, were so anxious to stop Landon that they voted for Roosevelt, instead of hearing the other half of the Communist slogan, which was "Vote Communist."

In Wisconsin the Farmer-Labour Progressive Federation, a united front of Communists, Socialists, farmer and labour organisations, won a tremendous victory: 22 seats in the state assembly, six in the state senate, six congressmen and many lesser offices. It was an important factor in the overwhelming victory of the Progressive Party state governor, Philip La Follette, whose programme was that of the Federation. The Federation was the most important factor in electing in addition to its own candidates: 24 assemblymen who ran on the Progressive Party ticket, eight Progressive Party senators and one Progressive congressman. Communists participate openly in the leading committees of the Federation.

And finally, it can be said that the mere involvement of the trade unions, as organised bodies, generally throughout the country, in this election is a step forward—and one for which all Communists have worked for years, even though in this election they followed too much the Roosevelt parade. It will be the Communist task now to urge upon them, once they have taken the first steps, a more and more independent role, politically.

So the farmers and workers, and the people in general, won a great victory in the American elections, against the forces of reaction, and of fascism. Now how to secure the victory, how to get something out of it?

The Communist Party warned throughout that Roosevelt cannot be depended upon. The warning is already seen to have been necessary, for Roosevelt is very reluctant to fulfill the promises given before the election and in a number of cases actually acts contrary to these promises.

The Communist Party, in a formal post-election analysis, characterised the Roosevelt victory as a "mandate of the people" to carry through the promises Roosevelt made, and said thereafter:

The only guarantee that the mandate of the people will be realised in life is through the independent organisation of the people, through the building of more powerful trade unions, particularly in the mass production industries; and through the organisation of Labour's forces politically in an all-inclusive Farmer-Labour Party.

To these next most immediate aims the Communist Party now turns.

One year after the Nazi-Soviet Pact had been signed in order to protect the interests of the Soviet Union (sec. B, exhibit No. 65), the American Communist presidential candidate declared Roosevelt and Willkie to be equally bad. Both of the latter were, of course, trying equally hard to protect the best interests of the United States. Later, when Willkie exercised his legal right to serve as counsel for an accused Communist, he was not nearly so bad (this section, exhibit No. 24).

In brief, American politicians do good whenever their actions incidentally or deliberately promote the interests of the U. S. S. R. and of her foreign agents. But the same politicians do great wrong whenever their pro-American policies run contrary to the wishes of the Kremlin masters. This Communist attitude toward American political parties accords perfectly with Lenin's concept of morality (sec. A, exhibit No. 7).

#### EXHIBIT No. 43

[*World News and Views*, August 24, 1940. Pp. 462-463]

#### U. S. A.—ROOSEVELT, WILKIE, TWO OF A KIND

##### STATEMENT OF THE U. S. COMMUNIST PARTY

Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, and Wm. Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, in a joint statement issued in New York on behalf of the National Committee of the Party have characterised Roosevelt and Wilkie, respectively, the Democratic and Republican Presidential candidates as representatives of

*"the most reactionary section of finance capital . . . their differences, as far as the people are concerned, amount to no more than a division of labour, the better to deceive the masses. . . ."*

The statement in full reads:

"The 1940 conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties restored once more the traditional 'two party system,' by which Wall Street (finance capital and the great monopolists, the 'sixty families'

the 'economic royalists') controlling both major parties invites the masses to choose the label under which they shall be exploited and oppressed for the ensuing four years.

*"For the masses of the American people there is no way to advance their interests through either Republican or Democratic Party. This basic fact was thoroughly demonstrated by their conventions.*

"War or peace, the question of foreign policy, is the decisive issue which dominates all others. Both the old parties made hypocritical concessions in their platforms to the overwhelming anti-war sentiments of the people, in almost identical words, and both parties proceeded full steam ahead on the course of war and preparations for war, on a path of full-fledged aggressive imperialism.

"The outbreak of imperialist war long ago ended that split in the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, in which the Roosevelt camp rallied the masses against the economic royalists, and made concessions to the people which were known as the New Deal. Roosevelt to-day, with his whole party, is busily dismantling the New Deal, and is bidding energetically for the support of the economic royalists, trying to prove to them that he can carry out their programme much more effectively than could their own direct representative, Wendell Wilkie, and his newly-adopted Republican Party. Wilkie, on the other hand, has fully solidarised himself with Roosevelt's foreign policy, and regarding Roosevelt's latest domestic course only claims that he would carry it out better by ridding the Administration of 'leftists' and labour people, and replacing them with solid and substantial businessmen.

"As against the needs and demands of the masses, Republican and Democratic Parties are solidly united; in words they recognise them; but in deeds they betray them; the fight between the two old parties is a real fight only within the limitations of their united front against the people; their differences are only those between the special interests and groups within the ruling classes, between two methods of doing the same thing, and between the vested interests of the professional politicians of the two parties, the rivalry between 'Ins' and 'Outs.'

"Republicans and Democrats, Wilkie and Roosevelt, are united on a war programme of tens of billions of dollars in armaments, and millions of conscripted soldiers, all of which makes sense only as preparations for jumping into the middle of the imperialist war of redivision of the world.

*"Republicans and Democrats are united on a foreign policy of sharpest hostility against the Soviet Union, thus repulsing the only powerful potential friend of the U. S., and the greatest force for peace in this war-torn world.*

"Both agree on the policy called 'aiding the Allies,' the most practical result of which was to give Hitler more American planes than the U. S. Army and Navy has today. Both are agreed in sacrificing China to the Japanese militarists, just as they agreed on stabbing Spain in the back, to gain profits for American imperialists. Both are united on an attitude toward Latin-America of which the infamous Sumner Welles is the symbol, so hated by Latin Americans, which combines every odious feature of imperialist domination.

"Republicans and Democrats agree, in the field of domestic policy, that 'labour must be put in its place' and sharply curbed, that civil



liberties for the masses shall be drastically curtailed, that social legislation must be subordinated to the needs of the gigantic armaments programme, that profits to the capitalists must go up while the living standards of the masses must go down, that taxation of the masses must increase while taxation of the capitalists must be reduced. Their differences are only of method, and of degrees of demogogy; the difference 'Ins' and 'Outs,' and between varying social composition of their followings. But the Hillmans and Tobins, busily rallying the workers for Roosevelt, does not change the reactionary character of Roosevelt's present course, but only proves that 'labour leaders' can also enter the service of Wall Street and betray the workers.

"In the face of these agreements, proved by deeds during the past year as well as most recently in the two Conventions, of what importance to the masses of the people are any differences or conflicts that may exist between Republicans and Democrats, between Wilkie and Roosevelt?

"The most reactionary section of finance capital, which is at the same time the most powerful and decisive, controls and is represented by both Republican and Democratic parties, both Wilkie and Roosevelt.

*"Their differences, so far as the people are concerned, amount to no more than a division of labour, the better to deceive the masses, and to prevent their independent political organisation and struggles, while the chains of conscription for bloody war and unexampled exploitation are riveted around their necks.*

"Clearly, for the people such conflicts are meaningless. Toward the Republican and Democratic parties the people, to the extent that they are politically awake and conscious, can have but one word: 'A plague on both your houses!'

*"The working class, and all toilers, the people, must begin to break the vicious circle of the 'two party system,' which binds them under the dictatorship of the economic royalists. There can be no progress, except that which begins with the repudiation of both Wall Street's parties.*

"That is the great outstanding lesson of the Philadelphia and Chicago Conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. That is the beginning of political wisdom for the common people of America. For the National Committee, Communist Party of U. S. A., WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (Chairman), EARL BROWDER (General Secretary)."

On the day before the Nazi forces invaded the Ukraine, President Roosevelt and certain leaders of the CIO were accused of being strikebreakers because they insisted upon resumption of work upon national defense projects. Once the comrades and their sympathizers learned about the "new world situation," Roosevelt was accused of moving too slowly in sending aid to the U. S. S. R. (this section, exhibit No. 23).

Later, when Walter Routhier, James Carey, John L. Lewis, Matthew Woll, and others questioned the necessity of certain wartime restrictions upon labor, the CPUSA accused them of conspiring against the national defense.<sup>1</sup> By February 1945, the party was clamoring for universal and unconditional labor conscription.<sup>2</sup> Once the U. S. S. R. was safe again, Communist controlled unions resumed their Nazi-Soviet pact tactics of fomenting strikes.

<sup>1</sup> Earl Browder, "The Strike Wave Conspiracy," *The Communist*, June 1943, pp. 486-494.

<sup>2</sup> "Browder on National Service," *Political Affairs*, February 1945, pp. 115-116.

## EXHIBIT No. 44

[*World News and Views*, June 21, 1941. P. 396]

## U. S. A.—ROOSEVELT AND STRIKES

Facts about the American strike situation not published in the British Press are printed below in a special cable from New York.

The cable describes the use of troops to break the strike at the North American Aviation Plant and the Government move to draft strikers into the army; it also deals with allegations made against the Communist Party of the United States.

When workers at the North American Aviation Plant struck for higher wages, pickets of the Congress of Industrial Organisations beat back a tear-gas attack by armed police, only to have their picket line broken for the first time an hour later when 3,500 United States soldiers moved in.

Within an hour of President Roosevelt's signed order for the army to commandeer the factory, Colonel Branshaw headed 600 soldiers with bayonets to take over the plant. A few hours later Brigadier Hershey, Acting Director of Selective Service, wired all state directors of the draft (army conscription) to withdraw deferments of enlistment from strikers in plants working on arms contracts. Hershey's telegram was in effect an order to draft into the army all strikers.

Meanwhile the House of Representatives passed two amendments to the War Department Appropriation Bill barring from work in arms plants all strikers who refused to accept the recommendations of the Mediation Board.

The strikers at the North American Aviation Plant brought out new slogans as the strike held firm. Press estimates of returning workers varied from 300 to 2,500 of the normal 12,000. The new slogans included: "Fifty cents an hour ain't patriotic" and "Bullets can't build bombers." Pickets shouted to officers who brought troops into the plant: "What do you think this is, Germany—shooting down working men and women."

In a leading article on the strike, the *Daily Worker* replied to an attack on the Communist Party by Richard T. Frankensteen, director of the Aviation Division of the C. I. O. Automobile Workers. The article said:

"When Frankensteen declares that 'this stoppage was caused by the fact that the Communist Party exploited the legitimate demands of the North American workers in order to sabotage the defence programme' he resorted to the same red herring which is being used everywhere to strafe labour. This is the red herring being used by Sidney Hillman William Green (right-wing leader of the American Federation of Labour) and John P. Frey to justify their putting the Vinson anti-strike Bill over on the workers by 'other methods.'

"It is also the argument Henry Ford employed against Frankensteen himself and the United Automobile Workers' Union to cripple the union's advance.

"The wage demands of the workers, which Frankensteen admits to be legitimate, are the crux of the whole situation. They cannot be evaded by red-baiting—whether this is done by union leaders or by an antilabour corporation.

"Frankenstein's statement is deliberately untrue. The Communist Party would rejoice, with all genuine labour groups, at the winning of this strike through achievement of the workers' demands. It is a blatant falsehood to say the Communist Party is not interested in the economic demands of the workers. Members of the Communist Party are now, and always have been, in the forefront of every fight to attain such demands. That is why Communists and other militants are under fire from the monopoly interests that are trying to smash the American Labour movement."

On the following day the strikers agreed to return to work if the following provisions were granted:

(1) No discrimination against any worker; soldiers are not to be allowed to tear up union cards; the union is to be maintained 100 per cent intact with no firings.

(2) Immediate action on negotiations; our demands are still for a 75 per cent minimum and a 10 per cent blanket increase.

(3) Wage increases to be retrospective from May 1.

Union leaders said it was impossible for strikers to stay out because of the army decrees.

"We can stay out and see our people slowly forced back to work," they said, "or we can consolidate our union by notifying the Government, the company and the country in general that we will go back as a strong organisation still asserting our rights."

Commenting on the decision to return to work, the *Daily Worker* said:

"The workers have once more shown their desire and willingness to fight for their demands and for the rights of all labour. It was the treachery of some labour leaders and the lack of support that compelled the strike leaders to make the recommendations that have been accepted by the strikers.

"In spite of this turn of events, the strike of the airplane workers has been of great significance. If the strike enables labour more fully to understand the need for a united stand by all labour against the attacks on labour's rights by the Roosevelt Administration, then it can serve both to lead to a more effective struggle for the living wage and trade union rights and to ensure that aircraft workers, even in difficult circumstances, will protect their jobs, their rights, their organisations and secure the realisation of the demands. . . .

"No matter on what basis this struggle is terminated, the Labour movement cannot and will not allow it to become the first victim in the drive of the Government to establish compulsory arbitration or abolish or limit the right to strike. And if labour is to defeat the Government's strike-breaking moves, then, among other things, labour must first of all stand behind the demands of the aircraft workers that there be no victimisation and that no disciplinary action be taken by the leadership of the Automobile Workers' Union against the strikers and their loyal leadership.

"Mr. Murray (president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations), who demanded that the strike be abandoned and that the workers rely on the Mediation Board, cannot shirk responsibility for seeing that every worker is returned to work, that no striker is victimised, and that the demands of the workers shall not be sacrificed at the hands of the Mediation Board. The aircraft workers' fight is a fight for all labour, and all labour will come to their support."

## IV. MASS (FRONT) ORGANIZATIONS

In Communist jargon, fronts are referred to as "mass organizations" (see. A, exhibit No. 13).<sup>1</sup> By this the comrades mean that a large mass of sympathizers are more or less unwittingly controlled and exploited by a minority of known or secret Communists. Together the minority "fraction" from the vanguard (CPUSA) and the majority mass of sympathizers constitute all the people worth saving. Everybody else is a Fascist destined for immediate or eventual liquidation.<sup>2</sup> Willi Muenzenberg was the first and one of the most successful promoters of Communist fronts (see. D, exhibits Nos. 16, 18, and 93). With typical Communist cynicism, Muenzenberg referred to his satellite groups as "Innocents Clubs."

In the early days, the American comrades displayed no little ineptitude at setting up mass organizations. Sometimes, their Communist "fraction" amounted to 72 percent of the total membership.<sup>3</sup> As the party gradually outgrew its weird childhood, our American "friends" perfected their techniques of dissimulation and confusion. By the time the Progressive Party came into existence in 1948, a communist fraction of much less than 1 percent was able to cope with all contingencies.<sup>4</sup>

## A. UNEMPLOYED; HUNGER MARCHES

During the depression years, no effort was made to conceal Communist interest in hunger marches and other unemployed demonstrations.<sup>5</sup> Considerable attention, however, was devoted to covering up the extent of Soviet intervention in these American spectacles.<sup>6</sup> Whenever an unemployed demonstration proceeded in an orderly manner, the Communist press accused its leaders of selling out to the "bourgeoisie."<sup>7</sup> However, in accordance with Stalin's concept of Bolshevik inequality (see. B, exhibit No. 40), Communist commissars sometimes rode to unemployed demonstrations in expensive cars, from which they emerged a few blocks away, or paid the then very high airplane rates to fly to Washington for a hunger march.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the dissemination of violently insurrectionary propaganda, Communist organizers tried to get innocent people killed at unemployed demonstrations. They also hoped to seize various government buildings.<sup>9</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 45

[U. S. House of Representatives, Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, 71st Cong., 2d sess., July 26, 1930. *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, pt. IV, vol. 1, 230-232]

**DEAR COMRADE:** Inclosed is a circular from the Comintern on demonstrations which we believe is of value to you. Please read it, make notes on it, no copies, and immediately return it.

Fraternally,

CENTRAL OFFICE.

APRIL 10, 1930.

In the course of preparation and carrying out of the mass revolutionary actions of the proletariat on international unemployment day, March 6, new forms of street demonstration and strikes have been found which will have to be taken into account now in the preparations for the 1st of May.

<sup>1</sup> Angela Calomiris, *Red Masquerade*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1950, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> See the Communist definition of "people" in the introduction to Section C: World Congresses of the Communist International.

<sup>3</sup> William A. Nolan (St. Louis University), *Communism Versus the Negro*, Regnory, 1951, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> For a very detailed analysis of the structure and function of a successful front organization, see *Trial by Treason: The Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case*, Committee on Un-American Activities.

<sup>5</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 232-284; *Toward Soviet America*, New York, Coward-McCann, 1932, pp. 231-232.

<sup>6</sup> Spolansky, *Communist Trail*, p. 90. Gittlow, *Whole of Their Lives*, pp. 211-221, 226-230.

<sup>7</sup> *Daily Worker*, January 18, 1932, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Karl Baarslag, *Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed*, Chicago, Argus, 1949, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> *Testimony of John T. Pace*, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 82d Cong., 1st sess., July 13, 1951, p. 1945. Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 16, 1938, p. 2285.

1. With regard to demonstrations, attempts have been made at new organizational methods in some of the cities in Germany, France, and Czechoslovakia is by means of which the tenacity and power of resistance to the demonstrators, in Berlin, for example, was comparatively higher, notwithstanding the unusual brutality of the assaults by the police.

In the past demonstrations were usually organized simply by issuing a call to the workers to come out on a certain day and hour to a certain place. In such demonstrations the columns were formed by people who chanced to come along. That circumstance rendered demonstrations (even if they were successful) innerly unstable, unorganized, and it was easy for people to get in for provocative purposes and for the purpose of attacking the police. In recent years the police even succeeded in breaking up such demonstrations, arresting individually and in small groups people coming to the indicated squares. This time, taking into account the failure of the previous demonstrations, and the growing terrorist brutality, attempts have been made to have the demonstrations internally organized, which attempts have found their justification in action. We know of some cases, Berlin, Paris, when a group of some factory was taken as the center of the organization of the demonstration (including employed and unemployed workers or the workers of several small enterprises belonging to one union.) Each factory nucleus was instructed to organize such a group to select for it (in agreement with the central organization committee) a meeting place, to appoint the leaders, to organize a self-defense group, to agree on the concrete forms of leadership, commanding, signals, and etc. Although this method of organization was not applied with sufficient energy and consistency its superiority over the old forms of demonstration revealed itself to a certain extent in practice. Such factory groups and columns came together, a number of them on one and the same square retaining however, their internal organization, group leadership, etc. The meeting place for factory columns of demonstrators (including unemployed) were chosen in labor quarters, primarily near factories, and at many points. The object of this was that each group should (1) from the very beginning be surrounded by a sympathetic population and pedestrians, (2) be able in its march to carry along the greatest possible number of sympathizers living in the labor quarters, including workers' wives and youths, (3) preserve its flexibility, and disperse when the police make an attack with a view to come quickly together once again and to continue the march. The leaders of the separate groups were given a route which was to be followed (with several variants in case of police attack), in order to join up with other columns.

In Paris the leaders of some of the columns of demonstrators had no instructions how the columns were to recognize each other and unite on large squares. This resulted in the break-up of demonstrations at several important points. The Berlin comrades mastered better the new form of demonstrations and as a result the resolution of the Berlin Brandenburg committee about the results of March 6, records considerable success of demonstration notwithstanding the activities of large police-forces.

2. With regard to the self-defense detachments whose participation was still absolutely insufficient on March 6 in all of the countries, let

alone such countries as Great Britain for instance where they have not yet even begun to organize them. March 6 has given the following concrete lessons in the various countries:

(1) Self-defense detachments must by no means be diluted in the general demonstration, they should march as organized groups with their own leaders aside from the columns of the demonstration, and have their specific tasks: (a) To warn the demonstration about the coming of the police; (b) physically to hamper the progress of police automobile (good experiments have been made by the workers in Berlin suburbs along these lines); (c) to attract to themselves the attention of the police, and therefore to give the demonstration a chance to disband (in order to meet again elsewhere) or to change its route; (d) in case of a police assault on the demonstrators, to attack the police from the side or behind and thus again detract the attention of the police from the demonstration (Neukolin, Wedding); (e) to organize attacks on police detachments for the release of arrested workers; (f) not to allow the beating up of workers by small groups of police and especially by single policeman.

(2) In all cases the self-defense detachments displayed simultaneously militancy and lack of preparation on the part of their members, therefore, while broadening the mass base of proletarian self-defense, all questions connected with the technical preparation of the self-defense detachments become of even greater importance.

Of course we still have before us the first disconnected and hesitant attempts of application of these new forms. We therefore consider it the more necessary to issue information on the results of this experience, believing that it is necessary for all party organizations to take these results into account in preparing for future demonstrations, adapting these methods to the concrete situation, the correlation of forces within the given country, the given district and so forth and so on.

3. With regard to the organization of strikes, new forms could be seen in strike movements on March 6 in France. (The central committee of the Communist Party of France will have to make a careful study of this experience.) It is true that only in some of the large factories (Rene Citroien) the workers of some of the shops went out on strike in France and went to other shops to take along those who were still working and tried to hold meetings inside the factories on March 6. The factory guards are numerically weak when compared with the great mass of workers in the factory and they could not alone restore "order" and in some cases the strikers managed to go through other shops, to stop work there, to organize meetings where their demands were discussed and voted upon. The police that were called out in such instances had a very hard job to get into the factory. In some Paris factories (Citroien, Reno) the strikers stubbornly resisted the efforts of the police and tried to throw them out of the factories. It is of interest to note that this was spontaneous as there was no proletarian self-defense organizations in these factories.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that this letter has reference to only one phase of the preparations and carrying out of the March 6 campaign. The Polit Secretariat has already pointed out the general lessons to be drawn from March 6 in its letter on the preparations for the May day campaign and will come to this question again in a spe-

cial document concerning March 6. Here we should simply add that the use of the new methods of strike action and demonstrations presupposes as a necessary prerequisite the full mobilization of the party organization, especially the factory nuclei and the factions of the mass organizations, the most persistent and consistent application of the tactics of the united front from below to attract working class members of the social democratic party, members of the reformist and christian trade unions and a pitiless ideological and organizational struggle against the leaders of the social democracy and of the reformist unions.

## EXHIBIT No. 46

[*Inprecorr*, March 26, 1931. Pp. 340-341]

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE U. S. A.

By Alfred Wagenknecht

The immense demonstrations which took place on International Day for Struggle Against Unemployment, March 6, 1930, were generally spontaneous and without much basis in organized unemployed councils. These demonstrations indicated the opposition of the unemployed masses to the prosperity buncomb of the ruling class, and its denial of extensive unemployment. These demonstrations were the first mass expression of the workers already hard hit and suffering because of the steadily deepening economic crisis.

In the following months, recognizing the possibilities of militant struggles by these demonstrating masses, the enemy trinity of imperialism, the employers, their government and the social-reformist-fascists, instituted a programme of demagogy, fakery, charity and terrorism. The Fish Commission of the national government, travelled across the United States and down into Mexico, investigating and preparing its report which now demands the illegalisation of the Communist Party, the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary press, all militant workers' organisations; the deportation of foreign-born workers; war against the Soviet Union. Lynchings of Negro workers increased and arrests of workers active in the struggle multiplied. Hand in hand with this terrorism, the ruling class announced daily additional hundreds of millions of dollars that were to be spent by the government in construction work that would provide jobs for the unemployed. Glowing promises were spread over the pages of the capitalist press. City administrations and charity organisations busied themselves in looking for crumbs for the starving workers, and in distributing a measure of relief.

We failed to meet this new strategy of the ruling class quickly and decisively enough. We did not speedily enough expose the fake construction programmes and the vicious charity schemes, the stagger system of employment, the propaganda of the capitalist politicians and reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. that the "dole" (unemployment insurance) was degrading, that "our workers would never accept money they did not honestly earn." We suffered a period of passivity. The organisation of the unemployed workers into unemployed councils lagged. We held to our general slogans, and were slow in developing demands for immediate relief, slow in engaging in daily struggles for bread, against evictions, for free light

and heat, against high rents, for lower food prices. These shortcomings were overcome when, in a number of cities, our unemployed councils began to fight evictions and moved the furniture of evicted workers back into their homes. With this correct method of struggle, our movement took on new life, unemployed councils began to increase rapidly in number, other immediate relief demands and struggles were developed and stressed alongside the demand for unemployment insurance from the national government. The unemployed workers entered a period of very militant activities.

Our fight against evictions prevented thousands of workers from being thrown out of their homes. Several successful struggles against high bread prices were carried on. Mobilisation is now taking place for strikes against high rents. A high point in activity was reached when hunger marches against 75 city administrations were successfully carried through in which 250,000 workers participated, brushed aside the police, entered the city legislative halls, exposed capitalist charity and demagoguery, made clear and concrete demands for immediate aid to the unemployed. Hunger marches against state legislative assemblies have occurred in six states. In St. Paul, the capitol of Minnesota, the unemployed occupied the state legislature for two hours, flying their banners of "For the Defence of the Soviet Union", "All War Funds to the Unemployed". "We Will Fight, Not Starve", "We Demand Unemployment Insurance". At Albany, the state capitol of New York, the government troopers attacked the hunger marchers after they had entered the assembly room. A pitched battle took place which lasted 45 minutes, during which the unemployed gave blow for blow.

On February 10, the Workers' Delegation for Unemployment Insurance appeared in Washington, D. C. the seat of the national government. The capitalist press expressed fear that the delegation had come to capture the national capitol. The city was like a fortress in a state of siege. The workers' delegation entered the capitol building and demanded to speak upon the floor of the United States Congress. It was surrounded by a thousand armed police and secret service operatives. The floor of Congress was denied to the delegation. An unemployed worker began speaking from the visitors gallery, in the name of the delegation and the one million and a half of employed and unemployed workers who had voted for and signed our proposed Unemployment Insurance Law. There were arrests. The delegation notified the capitalist law makers they would return to the masses of workers, expose the capitalist government, strengthen their mass power through organisation and that the national capitol would hear from them again.

The hunger marches, struggles and demonstrations of the last five months have disillusioned tens of thousands of workers regarding the nature of the capitalist state and the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. fascists and the socialist party, the third party of capitalism. The bourgeois character of the American Federation of Labor and the socialist party is further exposed to the workers by the fact that they have not made a single move to organise the unemployed workers, for any form of struggle for relief. This in itself discloses their close collaboration with imperialism. The unemployed councils of the Trade Union Unity League are becoming real fighting instruments, their numbers are increasing. But they must increase still



more. Every area of twenty residential blocks in the working class neighbourhoods in all cities must have its unemployed council which registers all unemployed workers; investigates starvation conditions, and through their own initiative, aids the most needy families; where the workers and their whole families can come to participate in the tasks; where they can hear lectures and spend an occasional social evening. Our unemployed councils must still become centres where unemployed and starving workers and their families, upon the basis of their own initiative, fight steadily and persistently for bread.

When we now report that upon International Day for Struggle against Unemployment on February 25, 1931, militant demonstrations took place in 80 cities and smaller factory towns, participated in by 400,000 workers, we at the same time note that we have made decisive progress during the year, that this year's demonstrations were of a much higher political level, and led by unemployed workers who had learned that to struggle effectively they must organise. We won many new members for our unemployed councils and the T. U. U. L. We now have an organised base, a clearer understanding of the forms of struggle and application of immediate relief demands, a better knowledge as to how to fight for hegemony over the workers and dispel the illusions which the ruling class steeps them in. Everywhere unemployed workers are now saying that the little they get from the bosses and their government is being given them because the Reds fought for it. From this point, the unemployed movement in the United States will go forward to greater achievements. Under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary trade union centre of the United States, the unemployed workers will make gains, will fight for and win bread, will more determinedly carry on their struggle for unemployment insurance.

This richest country in the world, where granaries are bursting with wheat, where constant talk about wealth in the billions of dollars flows glibly from the tongues of corporation executives, where it is now admitted that a thousand proletarians and poor farmers die every day from starvation, where wage cuts run as high as forty percent and the speed up goes forward at a killing pace—here a common struggle of the unemployed and employed workers is taking form which, as it gains in mass power, will register material advances for the working class.

#### EXHIBIT No. 47

[*Inprecorr*, October 20, 1932. P. 1004]

### PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS—AMERICAN VETERANS PREPARE FOR NEW MARCH

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

A national conference of war veterans was held in Cleveland toward the end of September, called by the Central Rank and File Committee and the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League. Its purpose was to sum up the lessons of the July bonus march and massacre in Washington and to prepare for a new march in December when Congress meets. The July march was initiated by the same groups of militants, supported by the Communist Party and sympathetic organisations,

and led the fight not only against Hoover and Congress, but also against the traitorous fascist leaders of the veterans.

Since the Washington marchers the various large veterans' organisations under bourgeois control have been forced by mass pressure from the rank and file of their membership to come out in favour of immediate payment of the bonus. Despite the hysterical pleading of Hoover, his secretary of war and generals, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (the two largest organisations) and the Jewish veterans have all voted overwhelmingly in favour of the bonus. At the American Legion convention the vote was ten to one for the bonus, despite previous opposition to it. According to present legislation the veterans will receive \$2 billion in 1945, but over half of the 4 million ex-servicemen and their families are starving now and the movement for immediate payment is sweeping the country.

There were at the Cleveland convention 300 delegates from over 50 cities. They represented 18,000 veterans from all organisations, jingo as well as militant. The first session was opened by S. J. Stember of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League (W.E.S.L.), leader of the militant section of the July march and delegate to the Amsterdam International Congress Against War. John Pace, who was elected chairman, had been jailed for leading the mass picketing demonstration before the White House; H. Wood, Negro veteran, was elected vice-chairman. The presidium included veterans from all parts of the country, and among the honorary members were J. W. Ford, Negro veteran and Communist vice-presidential candidate, Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, the marines who refused to attack the Washington marchers, and Betsy Ross (great grand-daughter of the woman who made the first American flag and an ardent supporter of the W.E.S.L.).

E. Levin, national chairman of the W. E. S. L., made the main report, laying down the line which the convention followed. Among the points outlined were the following: 1) that the conference issues a call to all veterans to march on Congress in December to demand payment of the bonus; 2) that a mass campaign be started in all veterans' organisations (American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, Khaki Shirts, Spanish-American War Veterans Association), and large fraternal organisations to win the rank and file for a militant struggle for the bonus; 3) that Rank and File Committees be organised in all cities; 4) that local struggles for relief be carried on, including marches and demonstrations before city and state governments, for the bonus and for condemnation of the Hoover administration for using troops against the veterans; 5) that the women be organised around the fight for the bonus; 6) that the International (I. A. C.) be endorsed and supported; 7) that the Committee elected at the conference work out a plan for activity among the armed forces for support of the veterans' movement; 8) that the conference cooperate with the unemployed and employed workers in the struggle for unemployment and social insurance.

The conference not only endorsed these points, but summarised the basic demands of the veterans as follows: immediate payment of the bonus, increased disability compensation, unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and state, against Jim-Crowing (discrimination) of Negroes, and against imperialist war. It voted unanimously for the march on Washington, practically all the delegates

having brought resolutions from their organisations in favour of such action. The plan adopted called for the marchers first paying tribute to Hushka and Carlson, the two veterans killed in Washington in July; then a committee, backed up by the masses of veterans, to visit Congress and present a bill for the immediate payment of the bonus.

The delegates condemned the attitude and actions of the three parties of capitalism on the bonus issue. Roosevelt, democratic presidential candidate, has pretended to favour payment of the bonus—but not immediate payment. His method is to attempt to curry favour with every group which has a grievance against Hoover and the Republicans and may give him votes in the elections. The socialists have also come out in opposition to the bonus. All three parties say the government cannot afford to pay the veterans though it has just given the big capitalists a “dole” of \$3000 million through the Reconstruction Corporation and is spending billions more on war preparations. The militant veterans demand that these funds, and a surtax on all industries and a tax on large incomes, be used to pay the bonus.

Comrade Browder greeted the conference in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and was accorded an enthusiastic ovation for several minutes. A telegram from Comrade Foster, Communist presidential candidate, was also applauded greatly. A. W. Mills, Communist leader of the unemployed march on Washington last December, addressed the delegates. An attempt to deport Mills to fascist Poland is now in process; the delegates adopted and sent to Secretary of Labour Doak a resolution demanding that deportation proceedings be dropped. The conference endorsed Mill's proposal to coordinate the veterans' and unemployed marches in December. Comrade Hugo Graef, wounded secretary of the I. A. C. and Reichstag deputy of the C. P. G., greeted the delegates in the name of the International. The conference decided to endorse the I. A. C. and send delegates to its conference next spring.

Upon closing, the conference elected a Central Rank and File Committee of 26 to lead the struggle. This committee, which will have its headquarters in Detroit, has on it representatives of the various veterans' organisations. The delegates pledged to organise local rank and file conferences in their own cities at the end of October to rally the masses of ex-servicemen for the December march. These city committees will lead the various contingents of the march and will have sub-committees on organisation, education, finances, transportation, commissary, and publicity. Special demands against Jim-Crowism will be raised in each town, especially against the discrimination against Negroes in government hospitals. The delegates will also hold meetings in the various cities they pass through on the way home, mobilising the workers in support of the march. They will speak before political, social, educational, fraternal, and labour organisations to urge support of the fight and the sending of delegates to the local rank and file conferences.

Following the adjournment of the National Rank and File Conference there was held the convention of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, with Walter Trumbull, secretary, making the main report. Among the decisions of the League delegates, who were the backbone of the earlier conference, were the following: to organise a women's auxiliary, to accept into membership non-worker

veterans who support the programme of the League, to accept workers who were imprisoned for fighting against the World War, and to accept veterans regardless of which flag they fought under. The convention voted to demand increased pensions for Spanish-American war veterans. The convention also decided to move its headquarters from New York to Detroit.

Of interest in this connection is a recent resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. U. S. A., published in the September issue of "The Communist", on the lessons of the July veterans' march on Washington. In summarizing the development of the campaign, the resolution showed how the W. E. S. L. had initiated it by a series of local demonstrations in March and April, followed by the appearance of its representatives before a Congressional committee, where they put forth a demand for the bouns and presented the programme of the W. E. S. L., including unemployment insurance. The resolution discussed the weaknesses of the League and of its Communist fraction in the campaign and set forth a further programme for the struggle. Among the errors enumerated are the general underestimation of the veteran's struggle and lack of support by the Party, a narrow concept of the movement, weakness in exposing the fascist leadership of the march and in combating the attempts of the fascists and police to isolate the militants, etc.

#### EXHIBIT No. 48

[*Inprecorr*, March 9, 1934. P. 420]

### STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT—NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT CONVENTION IN THE U. S. A.

By I. Amter (New York)

The National Convention against Unemployment which was held in Washington on February 3-5, was a splendid, militant, enthusiastic convention. It represented a cross-section of the fighting American working class, unemployed and employed, members of unions of the A. F. of L., independent and T. U. U. L. unions, Negro and white, native and foreign-born. The 900 delegates from 35 States had undergone many hardships to get to the convention. One delegation—from California—did not reach the convention, having been arrested on the way by the police.

The speeches at the convention showed the leadership that is developing among the unemployed. Particularly the Negro workers, men and women, excelled. These workers are no longer leaders of the Negro people alone, but are the recognised leaders against unemployment in their localities. Reports of white workers from the south—from the lynch-ridden States of Alabama and Georgia—showed how the white workers are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Negro workers for Negro rights. The discussion on the Negro question was an outstanding point of the whole convention and all the sub-conferences.

The convention showed a growing appreciation on the part of the unions of the importance of unemployed work. The sub-conference of 300 trade unionists was the best conference and adopted a resolution which, if put into effect, will put the unions of the T. U. U. L. and

the opposing groups in the A. F. of L. on the road to doing effective unemployed work, which up to the present has been sadly lacking.

The report of the National Committee made by I. Amter, National Secretary, reviewed the situation in the country, the "new deal," its effects on the unemployed and the workers in the shops, the loss of income, cutting of relief, the discrimination against Negroes and foreign born; the denial of relief to young workers, the plight of the children, etc.; the rising fascism and the preparations for war. It dealt with the organisational aspects of the work, the struggle for the Workers' Social Insurance Bill, which has been introduced in the U. S. Congress by the reformist politician, Lundeen, of the farmer labour party of Minnesota. It dealt with the question of the united front and of unity of all unemployed organisations into one fighting body.

Comrade *Herbert Benjamin*, National Organiser, analysed in detail the Workers' Bill and ripped to pieces the bogus bills that are being presented to the U. S. Congress and the various State legislatures. *Phil Frankfeld*, Secretary of the Pittsburgh Unemployment Council, showed how the Pittsburgh organisation has been built up, the achievements of the struggles conducted there and the building of the united front with the Musteite controlled organisations.

The discussion, which was most lively, showed the battles that have been conducted, which are only a forerunner of what is coming. Roosevelt is ending the civil works projects. Hours have been reduced and wages accordingly. By May 1, some 4,000,000 C. W. A. workers will be added to the 16,000,000 unemployed.

Workers took the floor and told how the Communist Party is leading the fight. "Only two weeks ago I joined the Communist Party," said a militant Negro woman comrade of Pittsburgh. "I am a young Communist. As long as the Communist Party and Unemployment Council exist, you will find me on the fighting line." Although there were workers of all political opinions and organisational affiliations present, this speech brought forth a storm of applause.

When Comrade *Robert Minor* rose to greet the convention in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he was greeted with an ovation. Every unemployed worker knows the leading role of the Communists in the struggle of the unemployed.

The weaknesses of the convention were: insufficient discussion of methods of struggle, the united front. There was a totally inadequate number of young workers present. This is a most dangerous feature, in view of the extensive government efforts to enrol the young workers and the putting of 300,000 into the military forced labour camps (C. C. C. camps). The reports emphasised this danger, which it is expected the local councils will immediately rectify.

The centre of the discussion was the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill and how to force the government to enact it. It is now possible to enter every working-class organisation to secure endorsement. But this is not sufficient: The N. U. C. will organise *demonstrations, marches, stoppages, and strikes*, and will make May Day a day of demonstration and struggle for the Workers' Bill.

The convention divided up into delegations to see government institutions on the problems of the various groups of the unemployed.

A delegation went to see the president, but as usual he refused to see a workers' delegation. In closing, the convention elected a broad *National Executive Board* of 54 members representative of all sections of the country and of the affiliated groups.

The fight for the Workers' Bill, for the united front and for unifying the unemployed organisations now takes on a sharp form. Increasing unemployment—500,000 workers were fired in January; cutting down of relief; the threat to put 1,000,000 boys into the military camps; the proposal to create "economic storm troops" to quell "internal disturbances"; the appropriation of funds for war purposes, while the unemployed hunger—all demand action.

On February 19 the socialist and Lovestonite leaders of the New York reformist unemployed organisation split the united front, which had held a successful demonstration on February 15 composed of nine organisations. This is part of their campaign to divide the working class at a time when unity is the crying demand. In Pittsburgh, the Musteite leaders of the Unemployed Leagues who were expelled by the socialist for united front action, did not unite with our Unemployed Councils, but attempted to build a third organisation. These splitting activities are being repeated in all parts of the country.

The convention furnishes the basis for a growing unification of the unemployed movement, which is fundamental for forcing the government to adopt the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, the unifying demand of the whole working class.

#### B. PROTESTS; MINORITIES

Whenever a case appears to provide an opportunity for spectacular protest, CPUSA has seldom failed to make the most of the situation. On the other hand, quiet and orderly procedure has had no appeal whatsoever. The first great protest case into which the Communists injected themselves was that of Sacco and Vanzetti.<sup>1</sup> As in similar trials, one of the primary objectives of the party was to prevent "reformist saboteurs" from bringing about a reasonable solution. The latter would have destroyed whatever agitational value the case possessed. And money allegedly collected for the defense could no longer be siphoned into the party coffers.<sup>2</sup> According to at least one ex-Communist organizer, even Sacco and Vanzetti came to understand that the Communists would settle for nothing less than their execution—but not too soon.<sup>3</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 49

[Inprecorr. June 24, 1926. P. 795-796]

#### THE PROTEST MOVEMENT FOR SACCO AND VANZETTI MUST BE INCREASED

The new evidence brought by the defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti proving the complete innocence of the two revolutionary fighters:

1) that a certain Celestino Madeiros has confessed to the murder with which Sacco and Vanzetti are charge, and

2) that the chief witness, Goldrige, brought forward by the Court an ex-convict who had been condemned on charges of stealing, swindling and bigamy—has confessed that judge Thayel induced him to give false evidence by promising him his liberty in return.

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Gittlow, *I Confess*, pp. 471-472.

<sup>3</sup> Fred E. Beal, *Proletarian Journey*, New York, Hillman-Curl, 1937, p. 90.

will demonstrate to the whole world the monstrous and unexampled character of this political trial. Never before have the judges of a bourgeois State so shamelessly exposed their role as blind executioners of the commands of their bourgeoisie and their complete corruption, as the "free" judges of "democratic" Massachusetts.

This does not mean that Sacco and Vanzetti can now be regarded as rescued. On the contrary? The judicial authorities of America and the men standing behind them will, after this general exposure, endeavour all the more strenuously to save their "reputation" and to get rid of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The American workers have realised this and are extending and increasing their protest movement. On receipt of the news that the defence, on the basis of fresh evidence, had made application to the appeal court for a revision of the trial and that the carrying out of the death sentence had been postponed, there took place in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston and in other towns, and also in the mining districts, further mass demonstrations in which the workers demanded the immediate release of Sacco and Vanzetti. Several speakers bitterly attacked the reformist labour leaders who are sabotaging the protest campaign.

The Communist Party of Mexico issued an appeal protesting in the name of the workers of Mexico against the contemplated "legal" murder of Sacco and Vanzetti and demanding a new trial.

The International Labour Defence are receiving numerous resolutions from meetings of members of labour organisations condemning in the sharpest manner the decision of the class court and promising the fullest support.

The Workers Party of America and the International Labour Defence are endeavouring, by the formation of a "Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee", to co-ordinate the protest movement in the whole of America and to attract all labour organisations into it. The Communist and other Left wing labour papers are supporting the movement by an energetic daily press campaign.

In Italy, where the communist, socialist and anarchist organisations are working hand in hand, the protest movement is likewise growing. Further protest telegrams have been sent to the American Ambassador in Rome from the staffs of factories in Milan, Novara and Monza.

It is the task of the working class in all countries, by increasing the protest movement, to exercise the necessary pressure on the American judicial authorities, so that they will not be able to reject the new application for revision.

#### EXHIBIT No. 50

[*Inprecorr*, November 18, 1926. P. 1315]

### AN INCREASED CAMPAIGN IS NECESSARY TO RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

Although the execution of the two revolutionaries, Sacco and Vanzetti, has been postponed, a new trial has not been granted. American class justice is persisting in a cruelty unexampled in history by causing for years the Damocles sword of a threatening execution to hang over the heads of the two condemned revolutionaries. The monstrous lust for revenge which is displayed in the attitude

of the American authorities is due to the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti, of whose innocence nobody doubts any longer, have in their time carried on a powerful campaign of agitation against American justice and its revolting methods.

It is necessary therefore to increase the pressure on the part of the European and American proletariat. In Europe there offers at present a special opportunity of doing this. Mr. Fuller, the Governor of Massachusetts, that State in which Sacco and Vanzetti have been imprisoned and condemned, has arrived in Europe (France). Fuller has the right to pardon the condemned and to remove those judges who abuse their office. Up to now he has not shown any intention either to pardon Sacco and Vanzetti or to remove judge Webster Thayer, who is the chief criminal in the Sacco and Vanzetti trial and who bears the responsibility not only for causing the trial to be dragged on for years but also for the recent refusal to grant a new trial.

In these circumstances the mass protests must make it clear to Governor Fuller who is now on a pleasure trip, that the international working class will not surrender Sacco and Vanzetti to American blood justice. In the meantime the movement on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti is growing. In Paris a tremendous protest meeting has been held. At this meeting, Sacco and Vanzetti were elected as honorary chairmen. A number of other meetings were also held in France, for instance in Marseilles. It is significant that the meeting in Marseilles was convened by an antifascist Committee of Action.

The movement is likewise growing in Norway. The Trade Union Federation in Oslo has initiated a protest action. Demonstrations have also been held in Germany, Austria and in Czechoslovakia. Sections of the bourgeoisie are also raising their voice against the monstrous scandal. Thus, just recently, a number of members of a French group of the "Inter-Parliamentary Union"—of course in in very moderate tones—called the attention of the government of the United States to the fact that justice and humanity should be applied in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The action for Sacco and Vanzetti must be continued still further until they are released from the dungeons of the American bourgeoisie.

In response to directives from Moscow the Communists in the United States set up in June 1925 the International Labor Defense (ILD) as an American section of International Red Aid (see. D. exhibit No. 17).<sup>1</sup> Its alleged objective was the defense of victims of capitalist injustice. A former Communist has written an extensive account of the Gastonia "frame-up" and of the way in which Communist leaders made certain that the victims would be convicted.<sup>2</sup> After Beal was sentenced, Communist leaders ordered him to jump bail and flee to the U. S. S. R. When he began to tell the truth upon his return from the Socialist fatherland, the CPUSA again sought to have him incarcerated—but this time as an enemy of the "workers."<sup>3</sup> Regret was expressed because the Soviet authorities had overlooked the opportunity to liquidate Beal before his return to the United States.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Galloway, *I Confess*, p. 223. Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Testimony of Fred Erwin Beal*. Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 10, October 18, 1939, 6018-6020. Beal, *Proletarian Journey*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347-348. Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 331-332.

<sup>4</sup> *Testimony of Fred Beal*, p. 6127.



## EXHIBIT No. 51

[Moscow, Executive Committee of the I. R. A., 1932. *Ten Years of International Red Aid*. Pp. 9, 33-34, 121-125]

## THE AIM OF OUR DOCUMENT BOOK

Ten years have passed since the I. R. A. was created. During these 10 years the I. R. A. has attained great experience in the various fields of its activities. This experience is expressed in the various resolutions and directives passed by the I. R. A. conferences, plenums, presidiums, etc.

We are sorry to state, however, that very often good fighters in the labour movement, and sometimes even I. R. A. functionaries, are insufficiently acquainted with this experience. Therefore the Secretariat decided to publish a Document Book in connection with the World Congress and the Tenth Anniversary of the I. R. A. This book contains the most important documents, accepted in the various fields of I. R. A. activity, and reflects the various stages of development of our organisation.

The documents are so assorted that every functionary will quickly be able to find those which refer to concrete fields of activity. There is a continuous change of cadres in the Sections of the I. R. A. and every new functionary, every comrade interested in the I. R. A., will be able to find in this book documents referring to the corresponding field of work, and pointing out the correct line of our organisation in all these activities.

This book is, of course, not complete, but we trust that this first issue of the Document Book will not be the last, and in the next issue various improvements will be made. We request the readers of this book to assist in the work of its improvement and to inspire the issue of a second book.

SECRETARY OF I. R. A.

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## A FEW REMARKS ABOUT ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS

We enclose herewith, assembled under a single heading, the main documents regarding the organisational tasks of the International Red Aid. It will be seen that the first of these documents is a synopsis of the resolution of the Enlarged Plenum of the I. R. A. Central Committee of June 19 and 29, 1924.

Prior to that date the I. R. A. after its creation at the end of 1922, had passed through a whole period in the course of which it made its first steps as an international organisation, formed its first sections in the different countries, and sought to find out in practice those forms of organisation which are best suited, according to the experiences of the various existing sections, for the realisation of its aims.

Thus, during 1923 the majority of our sections were still in the committee stage, constituted, in the first instance, by representatives of the revolutionary organisations which had affiliated collectively.

The attempts to organise the individual members of the I. R. A. to gather these members into rank and file units, and to give an active and permanent life to these units were still very feeble. In fact, even at present, this committee stage has not yet been overcome in

a number of illegal countries, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Moreover, it may be seen from the successive resolutions of the Plenum of June, 1924, of the First Conference in July 1924, of the Second Conference in March-April 1927 respectively, and furthermore from the different resolutions and directives adopted by the plenums or sent out by the secretariat, how this transformation in the structure of our organisations has operated and how we have arrived at the conception of a mass organisation, as this should be the line of action for all our sections.

At the first Conference the necessity of organising the members in regular bodies having a permanent existence was established as a basic principle.

At the second Conference the necessity of constituting groups on a local, town-district and factory basis was already defined, although the predominance of the local and district committees was maintained and these groups were only entrusted with functions in respect of the carrying out of practical tasks, of propaganda and of the raising of funds.

After the Second Conference, the structure of our organisation became more and more definite; not only has the importance and the role of the factory and local groups been recognised, but also the necessity of special activities among the different sections of the population, such as women, youth, children, unemployed, national minorities, and even among certain organisations,—trade-unions, co-operative societies, sport clubs, sailors, etc.

In this order and in the correct understanding of the development of the organisation, the documents herewith should be examined, studied and utilised by all comrades.

\* \* \* \* \*

### SAVE THE WORKERS OF GASTONIA

E.C. APPEAL 1929

#### *To the Workers of all Countries!*

On the 26th of August a most important labour case will begin in North Carolina (U. S. A.). Thirteen workers will be brought before the court of American capitalism. It is the same capitalism whose monstrous persecution against the working class for resisting oppression is well-known to everybody.

What constitutes the crime of these 13 workers? They took the lead in the struggle of the workers in Gastonia for elementary demands, for an acceptable minimum wage, for an eight-hour day, against the insufferable system of the work, for the reduction of high rents, for the recognition of the young trade union organisation of the textile workers. The owners of the textile factories answered them with an attack of armed forces on the house of the trade union of textile workers, and the homes of the strikers. The workers defended themselves. They were turned out from their lodgings, but the trade union organisation was saved by them. Then the capitalists set the law machines in action. The capitalists made an accusation of murder against the workers, who had defended themselves during the night attack. The capitalists could not suppress the strike in this manner and therefore they instituted court proceedings. Electro-

cution was to complete this case, which was begun by the armed police.

Two years ago, American capitalists electrocuted two proletarians—Sacco and Vanzetti. Now they intend to do the same thing with the 13 revolutionary proletarians. They “prepared” Sacco and Vanzetti for death over a period of seven years. But now they immediately intend to electrocute these 13 workers who are devoted to their class.

The case of the “13” has a very great international importance. As the revolutionary movement grows, American capitalism sets an example to the other countries as to what they must do with the workers who struggle against them. To get rid of the leaders of the workers’ movement, to exterminate physically the most conscious and active workers—such is the main point of class justice against the strikers of Gastonia. The blood of the miners of Julia who were shot by the Rumanian gendarmerie, did not get cold before the American bourgeoisie made preparations for a “lawful” extermination of the strikers.

Workers of the U. S. A. and of all the world, stay the hands of the executioners!

In 1927 the protests of the workers could not prevent the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Now a powerful protest is necessary! The masses of the U. S. A., Europe and the whole world must be mobilised for a most decisive mass protest, for the struggle to save the Gastonian comrades. Every working man and every working woman must know that the sentence against Sacco and Vanzetti was a sentence against every honest and devoted class-conscious worker who dares to demand his rights from the bosses. Every working man and working woman must know that the class court of American capitalism has already prepared the sentence against the 13 textile workers of Gastonia.

The Executive Committee of the I. R. A. appeals to the toilers of all countries to mobilise all means for the saving of the arrested in Gastonia. In the press, in the street, at the factories and plants, everywhere you must expose the class justice of American capitalists.

*Workingmen and workingwomen, toilers of all countries! Raise your protest! Demand the liberation of the accused in Gastonia! Snatch the victims from the clutches of the murderers!*

*Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Come forward in mighty forces for the defence of the 13 proletarians of Gastonia!*

### SAVE THE SCOTTSBORO CAPTIVES

(FIRST E. C. APPEAL)

#### *To the Toilers of all Countries:*

The American bourgeoisie are now preparing their tried weapon of class justice—the electric chair—for new victims. Eight Negro proletarians from Scottsboro, Alabama, have been sentenced to death on a false charge of attempting to violate two white women. The same fate is threatened for the ninth prisoner in the trial—a 14-year old boy. The execution is set for July 10.

*Workers, men and women! Toilers of all countries! You know already from the example of Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, and many others, that the justice of American capitalism gives sentences of years in prison and even death on the basis of the*

most vile, provocative and ridiculous charges. This is the favourite system of the dollar barons and the judges in their service. The charge which served as the foundation for preparing the electric chair for our Negro brothers is not a new one. It has been used for tens of years as a disgraceful excuse for the lynching of working Negroes, who have been burned, torn to pieces, hanged or thrown into the water in thousands by the members of the Ku-Klux-Klan, while the authorities have remained completely passive. In connection with the sharpening of the class struggle in the U. S. A., white workers are also being lynched. Last year, 38 persons were the victims of lynch-law. During the first three months of this year, *10 Negro and white workers were lynched*. Remember the barbarous treatment meted out to the Communist workers, Coder and Horst, who were dragged half dead out of the river Kansas by Negro farmers.

Brothers, can you look on quietly when the execution of nine Negro comrades is being prepared in Scottsboro?

Rise like one to protest. Form mighty demonstrations in defence of the victims of the legal provocation of the capitalists. Last year, with the joint efforts of the toilers of all countries, under the leadership of the I. R. A. organisations, it was possible to tear out of the hands of the executioners, Anna Burlak, Powers, Kerr, and three other revolutionaries, for whom the electric chair was already prepared.

With the same energy and power, act in defence of the prisoners of Scottsboro.

*Down with the provocation of justice, the lynch law of American capital!*

*Down with fascism and the white terror!*

*Free the Scottsboro prisoners!*

*Long live the revolutionary solidarity of the toilers of all nationalities, races and countries!*

May 6, 1931.

Executive Committee of the I. R. A.

## THE BLOODY TERROR OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

*To the Red Aid Members and the Toilers of all Countries:*

The British oppressors have commenced a new bloody page in the history of their century-long terror against the fighting toiling masses of India. *In Poona 4 textile workers from Sholapur were hanged* on the charge of participating in the uprising of May 1930.

This act of violence stirred up millions of workers and toilers in India who came out in protest on the streets of *Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi* and many other towns and innumerable villages in India. This confirms the fact that the Anglo-Indian government knows no other language for the rebel toiling masses fighting against starvation, lockouts, wage-cuts, unbearable taxes and terrible colonial oppression—than the language of *bullets, scaffolds, bamboo canes and shackles*.

*The prisons in India are overcrowded*. Among the tens of thousands of workers and peasants, languishing in the prisons under monstrous, brutal conditions, there are the *30 Meerut prisoners*, two of whom have already died due to the barbarous prison regime. There also are the convicted soldiers from Harvall whose only guilt

was that they refused to shoot down their brothers in *Peshawur*. Scores of *young men and women workers from Lahore* are also languishing in prison, convicted for their participation in the revolutionary class struggle to many years of hard labour.

Red Aid members, it is our duty to intensify the struggle against the raging terror in India. It is our duty to support the movement of protest against the executions in Poona. R. A. members in the "mother countries," this concerns you before all!

Protest against the execution of the heroic workers of Sholapur, against the raging terror of the Anglo-Indian authorities!

*Demand the liberation of all political prisoners in India!*

*Render support to all the Indian revolutionary prisoners, to all the victims of police and war terror, to the starving families of these victims!*

*Long live the solidarity of the toilers in the "mother countries" with the fighting oppressed masses of India!*

Executive Committee of the I. R. A.

January 25, 1931

**FIGHT! ACT! SNATCH THE SCOTTSBORO VICTIMS FROM THE CLUTCHES OF THE EXECUTIONERS!**

E. C. APPEAL—MAY 1932

Every working man, every working woman, all the unemployed, all who suffer from want, endure hunger and exploitation, must think about this pernicious date.

The execution of the seven Scottsboro Negro youths is set for May 13.

This heinous provocation, staged by capitalist justice, has lasted from the 25th of March, 1931. Nine young Negro workers among whom were boys 13 and 14 years old, were arrested near Scottsboro, Alabama. They were accused of attempting to rape two white women. This base pretext generally comes to light when a lynching is being prepared. On this occasion it has fallen to the lot of two prostitutes supposed to be riding with the Negroes in one carriage, to be the tools of Alabama lynch law.

The farcical trial took place on the 6th of April last year. The evidence of the prostitutes, who were bribed and intimidated by the police provided the basis for the sentence.

Eight of the accused young Negroes were sentenced to be executed and the 13-year-old boy, Roy Wright, to life imprisonment.

Under the leadership of the I. R. A. organisations the workers of the U. S. A. and toiling masses and proletarians of the whole world rallied to the defence of the innocent Negro boys. The most powerful and popular representatives of the world intelligentsia—Romain Rolland, Maxim Gorki, scientists, professors, joined the powerful protest and indignation of the toiling masses.

The Scottsboro case was rushed through. When American bourgeois class justice perpetrated the unforgettable and monstrous crime, the victims of which were Sacco and Vanzetti, the blow of the class enemy was directed against active revolutionaries. In the Scottsboro case the blow is directed against youth and children, whose one fault is that they are children of the oppressed and persecuted Negro race, who are denied all rights.

A powerful protest of the millions of the toiling masses forced a postponement of the execution, which was set for July 10, 1931. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of Alabama. Sentence of death was reaffirmed for seven of the Negro boys. In the case of the eighth, a new trial was ordered because he was only 14 years old.

On May 13 of this year, these seven Negro boys are to be executed, as the prestige of American bloody justice demands it. Such was the desire of the American capitalists and such was the order of the exchanges and banks. The crisis had shaken the profits of the financial kings—of the progeny of slave traders. They attempt to get rid of the crisis and to restore the former “prosperity” by means of destructive terror—by means of further attack on the standard of life of the toilers and for the preparing of new wars. Out of the corpses of white and black toilers they attempt to erect a new dam against the stream of the proletarian revolution.

But you, working men and working women, countrymen and countrywomen, all you oppressed by want and exploitation, toilers of the town and village, you must render your own account about the class importance of the Scottsboro case.

Do you not realise that the judges of Alabama and the rulers who stand behind them are your own capitalists who strangle the least attempt to relieve your unbearable life and the life of your families and children. Capitalists, who attempt again to turn you into cannon fodder for the wars they are preparing, who intend to break your resistance against their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, and who want to prevent you from joining with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Executioners, who intend to electrocute seven Negro proletarian children on the 13th of May, are allies and friends of the capitalists of Europe and of the whole world. They are allies and friends of the police who rule in your country, the gendarme and fascist murderers.

Therefore, you must raise your powerful protest.

Demand the immediate liberation of the Scottsboro victims.

The clique of the hirelings of the dollar, franc and pound sterling must feel and see that the toiling masses of the whole world, regardless of nation and colour, are united for the purpose of defending their guiltless black class brothers of Scottsboro.

All our meetings, strikes, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc. must be linked up with the struggle for the liberation of the Scottsboro prisoners.

On the First of May, the international battle day of the toilers, this demand must thunder through the whole world.

The I. R. A. organisations declared May 7 as a day of struggle against the sentence in Alabama. On this day a united front of struggle for their defence must be created all over the world. Scottsboro committees must be created in every factory, in every plant, in every town and in every village. These fighting organs of the united front against the bloody class justice of American imperialism must serve as a means for the mobilisation of the masses for the saving of the Negro boys. They must be the leaders of the movement of our protest.

The world proletariat must beat off the heinous attempt upon the lives of the Scottsboro prisoners.

This crime set for the 13th of May must be prevented!

In imitation of the Russian soviets (councils), the Workers Party of America began in December 1923 to establish local Councils for Protection of Foreign Born Workers.<sup>1</sup> Eventually the national organization came to be known as the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. In the years to follow, the CPUSA managed to spawn scores of other "Innocents Clubs," not only for the foreign born taken as a single group, but also for specific nationalities.<sup>2</sup>

When Louis Kovess (Steiner) went to Moscow on ILD business he was not permitted to return. In 1938 he was liquidated.

### EXHIBIT No. 52

[*Inprecorr*, December 24, 1930. P. 1228]

## THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE FOREIGN BORN WORKERS IN THE U. S. A.

By Louis Kovess (New York)

"Policemen armed with shotguns patrolled the Capitol grounds as President Hoover's message to Congress, outlining his legislative proposals for the short session, was sent to both Houses for reading at noon today." (United Press report from Washington, Dec 2.)

When these lines appeared in the American press the hundreds of delegates to the "National Conference for the Protection of Foreign Born" were on the way back to their cities except those sent to jail or hospital after the fight at the stairs of the Capitol. But still the House of Representatives of J. P. Morgan and Co. and the coal senators, lumber senators, manganese senators continued their phrase-mongering about "relief to the unemployed" under cover of armed guards, in deadly fear of the militant demonstrators.

With the deepening of the economic crisis, with the growth of resistance of millions of American workers to unemployment, starvation, wage cuts, speed-up, and against preparations for war against the Soviet Union, the ruling class is desperately looking for ways and means to split up the ranks of the workingclass in order to divide and crush them. To attain this, the old forms of discrimination must be strengthened and new forms found. In addition to existing state laws discriminating against foreign-born workers (paying less accident compensation to the foreign-born than to natives, refusal to hire the foreign-born for public works, etc.) the ruling class plans to create new federal laws, providing for the registration, fingerprinting, photographing and mass deportation of foreign born workers. The new forms of discrimination are being developed side by side with the tremendous growth in the number of lynchings, with brutal police attacks upon the unemployed, injunctions against the workers striking against wage cuts. At the same time, the capitalists are trying to create competition for the jobs in the workshops, mines, factories. Mass lay-offs of foreign-born workers, mass lay-offs of one nationality are going on in every industry with the aim of pitting native against foreign-born and one nationality against the other.

Against this system of discrimination and persecution the National Conference for the Protection of Foreign-Born was convoked on Nov. 30 at Washington, D. C. 502 delegates from all parts of the country, representing 300,000 workers, were present at the conference, which worked out a series of demands upon Congress, and also upon

<sup>1</sup> O. E. Ruthenberg, "From the Third Through the Fourth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party," *Workers Monthly*, October 1925, pp. 531-533.

<sup>2</sup> See the list of organizations contained in the *Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities*.

state legislatures and municipal councils, for the abolition of all laws, ordinances and practices discriminating against the foreign-born and Negro workers.

The last act of this great and enthusiastic conference was to vote with raised fists, in defiance of the preparations of the police against the demonstration, which would march to the Capitol the next day, at noon when the 71st Congress opened.

On December 1st at 11 a. m. the Capitol swarmed with policemen, detectives federal agents, who had orders to prevent any demonstration and especially to prevent the demonstrators getting into the Capitol. Eight minutes before 12 there was still no sign of the impending demonstration, as the delegates and many local Negro and white workers had been leisurely walking around. But 5 minutes before 12 the new National Committee elected at the National Conference arrived and stopped at the House of Representatives and Supreme Court wing of the Capitol and in a minute hundreds and hundreds of workers gathered around the National Committee, the signs and banners came out from under their overcoats, and the demonstration started with full force. As the police forces rushed at the demonstrators with raised clubs, hitting men and women about the head and face, the National Committee passed through the police line and walked up the stairs straight into the Capitol. At that moment, one group lead by Herbert Newton Negro worker, who is charged with "incitement to insurrection" in Atlanta, with the death penalty demanded against him marched into the House of Representative building and the other group led by "Mother" Bloor, veteran fighter in the revolutionary labour movement, into the senate building, to present the demands of the National Conference. It was exactly 12 o'clock and the Congress opened. But only for a minute, as from the outside the sound of shooting, yelling, booing and the strains of the "Internationale" broke into the halls of Congress. Due to the turmoil the session could not continue for minutes.

Outside the struggle between the police and their fascist collaborators continued for 10 minutes at the same place, even after police reinforcement were called out. Only when gas shells had been shot repeatedly towards the demonstrators, by this time numbering close on a thousand, did they back up towards Pennsylvania Ave. where new hundreds of Negro and white workers joined their ranks, 11 workers have been arrested, and 3 sent to the hospital suffering from wounds and from the effects of the gas. The "Gas Session" of Congress then continued under heavily armed guards.

All through the 2 days the delegations spent in Washington demonstration followed demonstration, against Jim Crowism. In the Capitol City of the United States, where the "Negro is liberated", he is not allowed into restaurants, stores, etc. owned by whites. The Negro and white delegates went together to these places and when they refused to serve the Negro workers, plates and other things were accidentally broken to pieces, the white delegates marched out in solidarity with the Negroes and demonstrated in front of these restaurants. Four such demonstrations were held in Washington and one in Oxford, against Jim Crowism and segregation. As a result, when the delegations left Washington a large number of Negroes gathered around the place and made a spontaneous demonstration for the white delegates.



The struggle against the splitting up of the working class, against discrimination against any part of the working class, against class persecution, just started with this national conference and with the demonstration at the Capitol. The National Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, supported by the Communist Party, is calling local and state united front conferences, mobilizing and organising great masses, whites and Negroes, natives and foreign-born, for the demands worked out by the national conference.

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The first Communist front organized specifically for Negroes was the American Negro Labor Congress. Set up in Chicago in November 1925, it remained almost completely isolated from everybody except its own tiny Communist "fraction."<sup>1</sup> In November 1930, the name was changed to League of Struggle for Negro Rights.<sup>2</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 53

[Inprecarr, August 27, 1925. P. 983]

## THE NEGRO MOVEMENT—AMERICAN NEGRO LABOUR CONGRESS

By Lovett Fort-Whitemann

The American Negro Labour Congress will take place in Chicago, beginning on October 25th and lasting about a week. It will be made up of delegates coming from the various Negro Labor Unions throughout the country, from organisations of Negro agricultural workers and representatives from unorganised industries. The fundamental aim in calling the American Negro Labour Congress is to establish in the life of the American Negro working class an organisation which may serve as a medium through which the American Communist Party may reach and influence the Negro working class, and at the same time may constitute something of a recruiting ground for the Party.

The Negro working class suffers all the social abuses common to the American working class in general, but in addition it is exposed to racial persecution. The social demands uppermost in the mind of the Negro masses of America are that of the abolition of Jim-crowism, that is, racial separatism, political enfranchisement, equal opportunities of employment for white and black, measures on the part of the Federal government against the practice of lynching, large appropriation for educational facilities for Negro children in the southland, the abolition of the lines of residential segregation, etc. The American Negro Labour Congress will take up these social problems for deliberation and action.

The National Committee calling the American Negro Labour Congress has a large Communist nucleus, and this National Committee, sending out organisers throughout the country, has succeeded in organising a large number of local committees of action in many towns and cities for the purpose of popularising and drawing in an increasing number of militant elements into the American Negro Labour Congress Movement. The American Communist Party has

<sup>1</sup> Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. 31-34. William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, New York, International Publishers, 1954, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> A brief outline of Communist propaganda among Negroes, and of its ineffectiveness, can be found in *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, Committee on Un-American Activities, December 22, 1954. See also *Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups*, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 12, 1949.

not yet gained a foothold in the southern provinces of North America, and through the creation of these local committees for the American Negro Labour Congress in the southern provinces, we see the beginning of the extension of the Communist Party into those parts. In many of these provinces the Negroes are in the majority over the whites, and it is in the south that the Negro is most oppressed. Thus, it will mean that in this part of America, the overwhelming majority in the Communist Party will be members of the Black Race.

It is the aim of the National Committee that out of the Congress to be held in October, plans shall develop for a permanent organisation among the Negro workers and peasants, and that this organisation each year thereafter shall be responsible for calling the American Negro Labour Congress. Further, we feel it is of the uttermost importance that on this occasion efforts should be made to rally the Negro races of the world: Africa, America and the West Indies, for a struggle against world Imperialism, and the National Committee calling the American Negro Labour Congress will endeavour to get passed at the Congress a manifesto calling a world Congress of the African races to be held somewhere in Europe next year. The Black Race feels the weight of World Imperialism probably more than any other radical group in the world. The American Negro Labour Congress promises to have the greatest revolutionary significance for the Negro peoples, whether in America, the West Indies or Africa. The call has awakened a wide-spread response, and the National Committee is daily receiving communications from Negro Communities, both in Africa and the West Indies.

The American Negro worker, by reason of his historical experience in such a country as America, where capitalism has reached its highest stage of development, seems well-fitted to take the leadership of the Negro Race of the World in its struggle against World Imperialism, and the American Negro Labour Congress aims at being the agency through which this leadership shall find its medium of operation.

Perhaps the weirdest propaganda in the entire history of the Communist movement in this country has been the party's promotion of the slogan "Self-Determination in the Black Belt."<sup>1</sup> Until 1928 the American comrades paid very little attention to Negroes. At the Sixth World Congress, however, the correct line was handed down under Stalin's personal direction. As far back as 1913, Lenin assigned the Georgian *võzhd* the task of formulating Bolshevik theses on the question of national minorities. When Stalin's henchman, Otto Kuusinen, introduced the latest version of self-determination to the Sixth World Congress, the few American and African comrades in attendance voiced strong disapproval. Their protests, however, went for nothing. Stalin's democratic centralism had already settled the issue.<sup>2</sup>

The Sixth World Congress decision reached the United States at the height of the 1928 presidential campaign. Ben Gitlow, who was campaigning in the South, asked the C. I. rep what he should do. In desperation the leading comrades decided to ignore the slogan until after the election.

By October 1930, Stalin had a more emphatic resolution sent to the United States. And this time, any comrade who did not give it at least lipservice was expelled. Throughout the years, the slogan of self-determination harassed the American party leaders like a weird nightmare. By 1953, William Z. Foster thought that he had found a formula whereby Stalin's theses could be approved and, at the same time, all specific agitation for the slogan of self-determination

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough analysis of the reaction of the CPUSA to the slogan of self-determination in the Black Belt see Nolan, *Communism Versus the Negro*, and Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Negro People*, pp. 461-478.

could be indefinitely postponed.' Now that Stalin's theses are being repudiated by his own proteges, life may become less complicated for the leaders of the CPUSA.

Amis' description of what the party did to effectuate the slogan of self-determination is largely fiction. In every way possible, the Communist leaders tried to bury the slogan without at the same time getting themselves interred.

### EXHIBIT No. 54

[*The Communist*, February 1931. Pp. 153-154, 158-161, 166-167]

## RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

*Final Text, Confirmed by the Political Commission of the E. C. C. I.*

1. The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the Party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism, and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestoneites. According to the assertions of these people, the "industrial revolution" will sweep away the remnants of slavery in the agricultural South, and will proletarianize the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro question, as a special national question, would thereby be presumably solved, or could be put off until the time of the socialist revolution in America. But the Party has not yet succeeded in overcoming in its own ranks all underestimation of the struggle for the slogan of the right of self-determination, and still less succeeded in doing away with all *lack of clarity* on the Negro question. In the Party discussion the question was often wrongly put and much erroneous counterpoising of phases of the question occurred; thus, for instance: Should the slogan of social equality or the slogan of the right of self-determination of the Negroes be emphasized? Should only propaganda for the Negroes' right to self-determination be carried on, or should this slogan be considered as a slogan of action? Should separatist tendencies among the Negroes be supported or opposed? Is the Southern region, thickly populated by Negroes, to be looked upon as a colony, or as an "integral part of the national economy of the United States," where presumably a revolutionary situation cannot arise independent of the general revolutionary development in the United States?

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an *oppressed nation*, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent *racial distinctions* (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all, because of considerable *social antagonism* (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, *peculiar trait* which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples. Furthermore, it is necessary to face clearly the inevitable distinction between the position of the Negro in the *South* and in the *North*, owing to the fact that at least three-fourths of the entire *Negro population* of the United States (12,000,000) live

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 557-559.

in compact masses in the South, most of them being peasants and agricultural laborers in a state of semi-serfdom, settled in the "Black Belt" and constituting the majority of the population, whereas the Negroes in the northern states are for the most part industrial workers of the lowest categories who have recently come to the various industrial centers from the South (having often even fled from there).

The struggle of the Communists for the *equal rights* of the Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interests of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be: *The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt*. These two slogans, however are most closely connected. The Negroes in the North are very much interested in winning the right of self-determination of the Negro population of the Black Belt and can thereby hope for strong support for the establishment of true equality of the Negroes in the North. In the South the Negroes are suffering no less, but still more than in the North from the glaring lack of all equality; for the most part the struggle for their most urgent partial demands in the Black Belt is nothing more than the struggle for their equal rights, and only the fulfillment of their main slogan, the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, can assure them of true equality.

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## II. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE BLACK BELT

5. It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States. Such a characterization of the Black Belt could be based in some respects only upon artificially construed analogies, and would create superfluous difficulties for the clarification of ideas. In rejecting this estimation, however, it should not be overlooked that it would be none the less false to try to make a fundamental distinction between the character of national oppression to which the colonial peoples are subjected and the yoke of other oppressed nations. Fundamentally, national oppression in both cases is of the same character, and is in the Black Belt in many respects worse than in a number of actual colonies. On one hand the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically, such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States. But on the other hand, this zone is not, either economically or politically, such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country. Industrialization in the Black Belt is not, as is generally the case in colonies properly speaking, in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has in its hands the monopoly of all the industry; but in so far as industry is developed here, it will in no way bring a solution to the question of living conditions of the oppressed Negro majority, nor to the agrarian question, which lies at the basis of the national question. On the contrary, this question is still further aggravated as a result of the increase of the contradictions arising from the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry and of a considerable portion of the Negro proletariat miners, forestry workers, etc.) in the Black Belt, and at the same time, owing to the

industrial development here, the growth of the most important driving force of the national revolution, the black working class, is especially strengthened. Thus, the prospect for the future is not an inevitable dying away of the national revolutionary Negro movement in the South, as Lovestone prophesied, but on the contrary, a great advance of this movement and the rapid approach of a revolutionary crisis in the Black Belt.

6. Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural laborers and that the capitalist economic system as well as political class rule there is not only of a special kind, but to a great extent still has pre-capitalist and semi-colonial features), the right of self-determination of the Negroes as the *main slogan* of the Communist Party in the Black Belt is appropriate. This, however, does not in any way mean that the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes in the Black Belt is less necessary or less well founded than it is in the North. On the contrary, here, owing to the whole situation, this struggle is even better founded; but the form of this slogan does not sufficiently correspond with the *concrete* requirements of the liberation struggle of the Negro population. Anyway, it is clear that in most cases it is a question of the daily conflicts of interest between the Negroes and the white rulers in the Black Belt on the subject of infringement of the most elementary equality rights of the Negroes by the whites. Daily events of the kind are: all Negro persecutions, all arbitrary economic acts of robbery by the white exploiters ("Black Man's Burden") and the whole system of so-called "Jim-Crowism." Here, however, it is very important in connection with all these concrete cases of conflict to concentrate the attention of the Negro masses not so much on the general demands of mere equality, but much more on some of the revolutionary *basic demands* arising from the concrete situation.

The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism. But this slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands. Thus, there are three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt, namely, the following:

(a) *Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers.* The landed property in the hands of the white American exploiters constitutes the most important material basis of the entire system of national oppression and serfdom of the Negroes in the Black Belt. More than three-quarters of all Negro farmers here are bound in actual serfdom to the farms and plantations of the white exploiters by the feudal system of "share cropping." Only on paper and not in practice are they freed from the yoke of their former slavery. The same holds completely true for the great mass of black contract laborers. Here the contract is only the capitalist expression of the chains of the old slavery, which even today are not infrequently applied in their natural iron form on the roads of the Black Belt (chain gang work). These are the main forms of present Negro slavery in the Black Belt, and no breaking of the chains of this slavery is possible without confiscating all the landed property of the white masters. Without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian

revolution, the right of self-determination of the Negro population would be only a Utopia or, at best, would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

(b) *Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt.* At the present time this Negro zone—precisely for the purpose of facilitating national oppression—is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. If the right of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority. There is no other possible way of carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self-determination of the Negroes. Every plan regarding the establishment of the Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of the Negroes, and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests. Above all, it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land, but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labor.

(c) *Right of self-determination.* This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States. It would not be right of self-determination in our sense of the word if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of determination only in cases which concerned *exclusively* the Negroes and did not affect the whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the whites as well as Negroes. First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative, and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, *the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism even to the point of deciding *itself* the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination. One should demand from the beginning that no armed forces of American imperialism should remain on the territory of the Black Belt.

7. As stated in the letter of the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of March 16, 1930, the Communists must "*unreservedly* carry on a struggle" for the self-determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt in accordance with what has been set forth above. It is incorrect and harmful to interpret the Communist standpoint to mean that the Communists stand for the right of self-determination of the Negroes only up to a certain point but not beyond this, to, for example, the right of separation. It is also incorrect to say that the Communists are only to carry on propaganda or agitation for the right of self-determination, but not to develop any activity to bring this about. No, it is of the utmost importance for the Communist Party to reject any such limitation of its struggle for this slogan. Even if the situation does not yet warrant the raising of the question of uprising, one should not limit oneself at present to propaganda for the demand, "Right to Self-Determination," but should organize mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes, tax boycott movements, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

(d) Communists must fight in the *forefront* of the national-liberation movement and must do their utmost for the progress of this mass movement and its revolutionization. Negro Communists must *clearly dissociate* themselves from all bourgeois currents in the Negro movement, must indefatigably oppose the spread of the influence of the bourgeois groups on the working Negroes. In dealing with them they must apply the Communist tactic laid down by the Sixth C. I. Congress with regard to the colonial question, in order to guarantee *the hegemony of the Negro proletariat* in the national liberation movement of the Negro population, and to coordinate wide masses of the Negro peasantry in a steady fighting alliance with the proletariat.

(e) One must work with the utmost energy for the establishment and consolidation of *Communist Party organizations* and revolutionary *trade unions* in the South. Furthermore, immediate measures must be taken for the organization of proletariat and peasant *self-defense* against the Ku Klux Klan. For this purpose the Communist Party is to give further instructions.

11. It is particularly incumbent on Negro Communists to criticize consistently the half-heartedness and *hesitations* of the petty-bourgeois national-revolutionary Negro leaders in the liberation struggle of the Black Belt, exposing them before the masses. All national reformist currents as, for instance, Garveyism, which are an obstacle to the revolutionization of the Negro masses, must be fought systematically and with the utmost energy. Simultaneously, Negro Communists must carry on among the Negro masses an energetic struggle against nationalist moods directed indiscriminately against all whites, workers as well as capitalists, Communists as well as imperialists. Their constant call to the Negro masses must be: *Revolutionary struggle against the ruling white bourgeoisie, through a fighting alliance with the revolutionary white proletariat!* Negro Communists must indefatigably explain to the mass of the Negro population that even if many white workers in America are still infected with Negrophobia, the American proletariat, as a class, which owing to its struggle against the American bourgeoisie represents the only truly revolutionary class, will be the only

real mainstay of Negro liberation. In as far as successes in the national-revolutionary struggle of the Negro population of the South for its right to self-determination are already possible under capitalism, they can be achieved only if this struggle is effectively supported by proletarian mass actions on a large scale in the other parts of the United States. But it is also clear that "only a victorious proletarian revolution will *finally decide* the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States, in the interest of the predominating mass of the Negro population of the country." (*Colonial Theses of the Sixth World Congress.*)

## EXHIBIT No. 55

[*The Communist International*, May 5, 1935. Pp. 498, 500-501, 512-513]

## HOW WE CARRIED OUT THE DECISION OF THE 1930 C. I. RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE U. S.

By B. D. AMIS

The resolution of the Communist International on the Negro question in 1930 gave additional clarity to the American Party as to the work to be done in order to win an important ally to the American proletariat. This resolution is of tremendous importance to the American labor movement as well as to the international working class movement. It is a clear application of Lenin's teachings on the national question. It clearly defined the role of the Party in the struggle for equal rights of the Negro toilers and the right of the Negroes in the Black Belt to self-determination. Among the important tasks elaborated upon are the following:

The struggle for the abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression of the Negroes, as well as against their social exclusion. . . .

A relentless struggle in practice against all manifestations of Negrophobia. . . .

Energetic recruiting of the Negroes into the T. U. U. L. and revolutionary trade unions. . . .

Struggle for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. . . .

These four basic points were further concretized in the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution of the Central Committee of the C. P. U. S. A., in April, 1932. The attention of the whole Party is sharply called to:

(a) A popularization of the full Communist program on the Negro question in connection with the partial struggles on every-day demands and events, which must be intensified.

(b) Thorough popularization of the solution of the national question in the U. S. S. R., socialist construction in the autonomous Soviet Republics, mobilizing the broad Negro masses for the defense of the Soviet Union.

(c) Broadening the recruiting of Negro workers into the Party and trade unions, making the trade union movement real channels of Negro work.

(d) A broad campaign within the Party, as well as in the mass organizations, against white chauvinism and all forms of Jim-Crow practices, ruthlessly exterminating within the Party, not only the open, but also the half-hidden and conciliatory forms.

(e) Carrying out some concrete measures guaranteeing the next period for a real beginning of penetrating the Black Belt, building the



Party and mass organizations (first of all, trade unions) for work among the Negroes in the Black Belt.

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#### METHODS OF WORK AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC

While intensifying the struggle against white chauvinism, the Party brought more clarity into the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and expressions of these tendencies revealed in some Negro comrades. These manifestations (in a few Negro comrades) appeared because of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence and unclarity on the Leninist methods of solution of the national question. These comrades, seeing mainly the fast Leftward movement of the Negro masses on the one hand, and the slowness of the Party in more quickly organizing the movement on the other hand expressed tendencies of distrust in the application of the line of the Party. Such tendencies are a hindrance to developing Bolshevik fire and decisiveness to burn out of our ranks the main danger—white chauvinism.

As the forces of revolution rally the masses to struggle against imperialist oppression, the forces of counter-revolution employ every conceivable method, oftentimes the most subtle measures to turn the tide in their direction. Because of the sharpening class struggle some of these bourgeois ideas, in one form or another, have crept into the Party. But a strict application of the Lennist line has defeated at every turn every expression of this alien ideology.

The struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism is becoming more complicated as the class differentiations among the Negroes develop. During the Scottsboro campaign these class differences have become more pronounced. The national reformist leaders in the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League and Garvey type have increased their activities. Against these people and their ideology the Party has the task especially to prepare Negro comrades to become the main forces to lead the attack and exposure of this ruinous ideology. Fully equipped with Leninist theory a successful struggle can be waged on this front.

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#### V. POPULARIZATION OF THE SLOGAN: RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Through the medium of clarification of the Leninist conception of the solution of the national question and the practical steps taken, the Party has been able to begin to popularize among the Negro people the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt up to the point of separation. But this beginning is very small. Self-determination has not been explained in detail, as to the benefits that the Russian workers and peasants obtained after the October Revolution. This slogan raises the question of power, the way out for the Negro people in the Black Belt. Only the realization of this slogan can guarantee the securing of equal rights for the Negroes.

Self-determination means the overthrow of the landlord-capitalist class rule in the South. It is a basic fundamental slogan of national rebellion. It is a slogan that expresses the basic demands (land, equality and freedom) of the Negro people.

First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, *the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right of self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism, *even to the point of deciding itself* the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination. (C. I. Resolution, 1930.)

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One of the greatest of all Communist protest cases was that of the Scottsboro boys. From April 1931 until July 1950, the CPUSA hardly ever missed a chance to exploit the Scottsboro boys in one way or other. Naturally the Comintern organized demonstrations all around the world (this section, exhibit No. 51).<sup>1</sup> But once the Governor of the State of Alabama declared the case to be a closed book, news of his decision was buried in a few lines at the bottom of page 7.<sup>2</sup> By that time, the Scottsboro case had worn pretty thin.

Besides, the Rosenbergs presented a fresher and much more effective subject for Communist exploitation. In them the party had found two martyrs willing to pay with their lives for the privilege of transmitting the secrets of the atom bomb to the most peace-loving Socialist fatherland.<sup>3</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 56

[Inprecorr, July 2, 1931. P. 651]

#### SAVE THE EIGHT YOUNG NEGROES!

The Committee formed in the Soviet Union for the defence of the eight young Negro workers condemned to die in the electric chair in Scottsboro in the State of Alabama on a framed-up charge of rape, has issued an appeal to the workers and oppressed peoples all over the world which contains, inter alia, the following:

"Eight young Negroes have been sentenced to die in the electric chair by American class-justice. The executions have been fixed for the 10th July. The old trick of railroading coloured workers to the electric chair on the frenzied charge of rape has again been worked. Although all the evidence submitted was in favour of the Negroes and against the indictment, the young Negroes were found guilty and sentenced to death.

Up to the present the mass efforts of the International Red Aid on behalf of the eight innocent young coloured workers have not been successful. These young boys are threatened with death in the near future. The court of appeal has confirmed the death sentences despite unassailable evidence proving the innocence of the accused. The representatives of the International Labor Defense who have worked heroically on behalf of the condemned Negroes in the heart of the Southern States have themselves been threatened with lynch law if they continued their activities. Naturally, the only effect of

<sup>1</sup> Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, pp. 87-88. Nolan, *Communism Versus the Negro*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>2</sup> *The Worker*, July 23, 1930, I, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Trial by Treason—Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case*, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956.

such threats has been to cause them to intensify their efforts to rescue the young Negroes from the electric chair.

Working men and working women! Remember that the mass campaigns conducted by the International Red Aid over the whole world have more than once met with success. Once again we must save proletarians from the hands of the executioner. Protest against the death sentences! Demand the release of the young Negro workers! Expose the comedy of justice against the oppressed Negroes in the United States! Release the eight young Negroes! Rally to the saving banner of the International Red Aid! Down with imperialism! Long live the international revolutionary proletarian solidarity of the working class of all races and all colours!"

The appeal is signed by Maxim Gorki, Lunacharski, Padmore, Witheman and many others.

#### EXHIBIT No. 57

[Inprecorr, August 27, 1931. P. 852]

#### INCREASE AND SPREAD THE SCOTTSBORO DEFENCE!

(Appeal of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.)

The storm of international protest against the planned execution of 8 young Negro workers on a frame-up charge, at Scottsboro, Alabama, that has arisen throughout the world and grows in volume, has shocked the bourgeoisie. Only mighty mass protest of the international proletariat can stop the execution of the 8 Black Proletarians!

Mass demonstrations and meetings of workers of all races as well as stormy scenes before American consulates have been held throughout Europe and America, and in South Africa and Latin America, protesting indignantly against the frame-up of their class brothers and demanding their release. Nothing like this has ever happened before! The bourgeoisie has been astounded at this wonderful demonstration of international solidarity — — at the spectacle of Workers of all races raising their fists in defence of 8 Negro Proletarians.

Comrades, this international spirit of solidarity is the only kind of language that the bourgeoisie will heed. This mass movement bring about the solidarity of workers throughout the world, will bring so much pressure upon the blood-thirsty capitalist bosses of the U. S. A. that they will be forced to release our class brothers.

Telegrams and cables have poured in upon the Governor of Alabama from over the world. A cable of protest was received from a group of scientists with the name of Albert Einstein, the famous German scientist at the top. At Leningrad there was a great protest of the toiling cultural and scientific workers engineers, technicians, educational and art workers.

This has been a mighty demonstration of world sympathy and international solidarity.

But comrades and fellow workers, the boys are still in the clutches of the fiendish boss class. Only an appeal to a higher court has delayed the case so far. There is nothing but capitalist "justice" in these courts. This means that the boys will be executed unless we raise a mightier international protest for their actual release.

**The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers calls upon the international proletariat to increase its vigilance, to increase its protests. Demonstrate before American consulates! Let the bosses feel the mighty fist of the international proletariat!**

**To the workers of Alabama both white and black, organise Self-Defence Corps composed of both white and black workers. Defend your right to assembly! Defend your meetings! Demonstrate for the release of the boys! You are fighting for bread and life. The bosses are trying to hide from you unemployment and starvation. They are trying to divide you and thereby destroy your movement.**

**Down with white terror and lynching!  
Long live International solidarity!**

### C. WRITERS; PEACE

Anybody who reads the official *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* cannot be unaware of the immense importance which Lenin and Stalin placed upon control or influence of the press (sec. B, exhibit No. 61). In May 1942, Mao Tse-tung further developed Communist theory and practice especially insofar as it concerned fellow travelling writers (sec. D, exhibit No. 98).

The *New Masses*, to which reference is made in exhibit No. 58, began publication in May 1926. In March 1948, it was consolidated with a Communist quarterly called *Mainstream* to become *Masses and Mainstream*.

Among early Communist literary and artistic fronts the John Reed Clubs occupied a preferred position.<sup>1</sup> They got their name from the first American Communist hero whose ashes were interred in the Kremlin wall. Reed was temperamentally a left-wing radical rather than a disciplined Communist.<sup>2</sup> At the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution, he wrote with enthusiasm about the great progress humanity had made in Russia.<sup>3</sup> But before he died in 1920, he had become thoroughly disillusioned as to the merits of the Soviet experiment. Fortunately for the Communist cause, he succumbed to typhus in September 1920. In the opinion of his wife, he had simply lost the will to live. Lenin, however, concealed the facts and ordered a great state funeral for the first American Communist hero. Seven years later Bill Haywood, another American radical disillusioned by the facts of life in the Soviet utopia, got a less pretentious burial in a cemetery on the outskirts of Moscow.<sup>4</sup>

At the 1930 Kharkov Conference, the American delegates from the John Reed Clubs and the *New Masses* voiced complete approval of the thought control already prescribed for Soviet writers (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 20 and 30). Just as in every other aspect of Communist life, Stalin's concept of Socialist realism became the primary rule of literary production.<sup>5</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 58

[Moscow, *Literature of the World Revolution*, Central Organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. Special No. 1931: Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers. Pp. 3-6, 121-122]

### THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY AND PROLETARIAN WRITERS

**The most important result of the Second International Conference of Proletarian and Revolutionary Writers, held in Kharkov from November 6th to 15th consists in answering the question of whether it is possible for proletarian culture and literature to develop in capitalist countries previous to the seizure of power by the proletariat. There is no question but that the political supremacy of the bourge-**

<sup>1</sup> Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 137-138, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Giltrow, *Whole of Their Lives*, pp. 16-36.

<sup>3</sup> John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, New York, International Publishers, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, pp. 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952, pp. 116, 123.

oisie likewise implies its cultural supremacy, that only the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat creates the necessary conditions for a free and intense development of the culture of the proletariat. But this assertion has nothing in common with the theories of the revisionists and opportunists. Their theories deny that the development of proletarian culture in capitalist society is possible and assign to the proletariat the rôle of parasite on bourgeois culture. This is the assumption of the theories of the social-democrat squad of world fascism. This is the essence of the vile Hilferding teaching about "cultural democracy." This is what is now being proclaimed by the renegades of communism of the Talheimer species, who repeat, following Trotsky, that a great art will be created only under socialism and that until then even under the dictatorship of the proletariat proletarian art will be taking only its "first steps."

A correct answer to this question can be given only after a careful analysis of the objective conditions under which the cultural movement of the proletariat is at present developing in capitalist countries. These conditions have changed fundamentally since the imperialist war, and especially in the third stage of post-war capitalism. The acute aggravation of the class-struggle, the further decay of capitalism, the fascist reincarnation of social democracy, the strengthening of communist ideology, as it spreads its influence over ever greater sections of the proletariat—these most important circumstances create not only the possibility but even the necessity for the proletariat to formulate and to solve by its own efforts the cardinal problems in the sphere of culture, art and literature, as well as in all other spheres of the proletariat's class struggle.

The tremendous importance of the cultural revolution which is going on in the USSR must likewise be taken into account. It awakens the class consciousness of the proletariat in bourgeois countries, and it transplants into Western Europe and America many of its forms, such as the worker-correspondent movement, the Blue Blouses, the experience gained in the movement of proletarian literature etc.

The crisis of bourgeois culture, finally, must be taken into account. It is intensifying and spreading more widely in proportion to the growth of economic and political contradictions, not solvable within bourgeois society. Bourgeois culture has reached a blind-alley. The crisis has affected each of its domains—philosophy, natural history, art. Bourgeois thought is seeking a way out of this blind alley in ideological reaction. As far as art is concerned, Marx's words, that the capitalist method of production is hostile to several branches of intellectual production such as art and poetry, are being justified more than ever before. The bourgeois artists are now deprived of those great ideas which alone can create genuine art. He is terrified by the reality of to-morrow. The rôle of the cultural modifier and organizer who takes up and re-works critically the cultural inheritance accumulated by mankind in the preceeding periods of its development is passing to the proletariat. With the triumph of the proletarian revolution, the proletariat has started to create its own culture. It is creating its own literature, although the chances for its development are of course limited by capitalism, and although the cultural supremacy of the proletariat can come into existence only under its dictatorship.

From this point of view especially, the international movement of proletarian and revolutionary writers is of tremendous interest. During the three years which separate the Kharkov Conference from the first Conference in Moscow, the movement has gathered tremendous impetus. Even now proletarian literature in a number of capitalist countries, especially in Germany, is able to resist bourgeois literature. Even now it appears as the guiding force in relation to the groups of revolutionary petty-bourgeois writers who are allied with it. The Kharkov Conference has made plain its unity in the fundamental ideological questions of the movement. But at the same time it has showed that in various sections of it there exist obvious signs of right-wing and left-wing deviations. These appear especially in the question as to the rôle which the proletarian and communist vanguard must play in regard to those revolutionary writers, who, despite their petty-bourgeois origin, are allies of the proletariat.

The clearest example of such opportunism is the activity in France of the group belonging to the periodical *Monde*. The agents of Trotskyism, of de-Mans, Vandervelde, the bourgeois radicals and people like that, have been contributing to this journal. That is why the Conference presented the editor of *Monde*, Barbusse, with conditions which amount to a demand for a speedy and decisive break with these allies. We wish to believe that Comrade Barbusse will consider our criticism as an expression not of hostility but of our desire to work together.

But opportunism makes its appearance under left-wing disguises, in the form of sectarianism, turning away from the task of re-educating the revolutionary allies of the proletariat and of working with them. Such tendencies exist, for example, among certain of our American comrades, just as they formerly existed among the followers of Comrade Gabor in the German section. The Conference has opened up its struggle on both fronts. It has pointed out the right-wing danger as the chief one, and at the same time it has emphasized the real danger of left-wing sectarianism. The consolidation and strengthening of the proletarian and communist nucleus, the determined insistence on bringing out worker writers especially from the worker-correspondent movement, the irreconcilable struggle against all currents and tendencies hostile to proletarian ideology, including lower bourgeois pacifism, pseudo-working class, social-fascist and fascist literature, the enrollment of literary allies from among the revolutionary writers of the city, petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry—these are the lines of development marked out by the International Union of Revolutionary Writers.

This statement of aims is all the more important, since the International Union is so far but slightly connected with revolutionary peasant and national literature in colonial, semi-colonial and agrarian capitalist countries. In fact the Union so far is more European than world-wide in scope. But the growing intensity of the nationalist and revolutionary movement in the colonies and the severe exploitation of the peasantry of the capitalist countries are inevitably strengthening the tendency of nationalist and peasant revolutionary writers of those countries toward the position taken up by the International Union. Their organic fusion with our movement is possible only on the basis of the general line of the union which is opposed both to left-wing and right-wing opportunism, and by the assertion of the

leading rôle of proletarian literature in relation to its allies. An illustration of understanding of this rôle at the present stage of the movement is offered by the activity of the German section of the International Union as well as by the Japanese Union of Proletarian Writers.

Without exaggerating its successes, we are justified in stating that the movement has risen to a higher stage and that the results of the Kharkob Conference open new prospects for it. And right here the experience of the cultural revolution in the USSR as well as all the experience of socialist construction, with which the majority of delegates of twenty-two capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries have become acquainted at first hand for the first time, constitutes for the movement an inexhaustible source of educational material. It is an important political fact that the conference did its work in Kharkob, the capital of the Ukraine, a country in the midst of building socialism, a country which has been enabled freely to develop its culture only as a result of the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The proletarian and revolutionary writers of the world look upon their art as a special form of revolutionary activity in the class struggle of the proletariat. Therefore, one of the most important results of the conference has proved to be the mobilization of proletarian and revolutionary writers to struggle against the military attack upon the USSR, which is being prepared by the imperialists. The recently disclosed activities of the "Industrial Party" have shown the dimensions of the intervention which is being prepared. The Conference devoted special attention to the question of the danger of war. It turned into an international rally of revolutionary writers, including not only communists but even the Belgian Hubermont and the Englishman Heslop, who are still bound up with social-democratic circles; they unanimously declared their readiness to defend the country which is building socialism, by word and deed, by the weapon of the writer and the weapon of the revolutionary.

The Conference gave much attention to the problems of creative work, and recognized that only the method of dialectical materialism can be the creative method of proletarian literature. It would be wrong to assert that this method has already been worked out. This problem, with all its implications is what our movement must solve next. Only by solving it on the basis of the experience of proletarian literature in the USSR will proletarian and revolutionary writers throughout the world be enabled in their creative work artistically to reflect reality in its complicated and diverse connections and mediacies, in its movements and its contradictions. Only the *Weltanschauung* and method of dialectical materialism can positively enable proletarian literature to become a powerful weapon in the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. And the degree to which one revolutionary writer or another masters the outlook of the proletariat—dialectical materialism—is the measure of his transformation into a proletarian artist. We must recognize that in the overwhelming majority of cases, except for the proletarian literature of the USSR, our movement has not even begun to formulate the problems of the creative method. We must develop as widely as possible, in every branch of our movement, discussions of the creative method; for such discussion, reinforced by creative work, will raise our movement to a new and higher level.

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature, which at its inception three years ago represented an organization of individuals engaged in writing, has fulfilled its historical mission as organizer of the scattered revolutionary forces in literature. In view of the general rise of international proletarian and revolutionary literature to a higher stage of mass movement, the Bureau has been reconstructed into a mass-organization in literature, into the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. The Second International Conference, by a number of very important decisions, has pointed out for the Union the path of its further development. Not only the struggle against fascism, but also the struggle against social-fascism, the active defense of the USSR, the active support of the struggle of the proletariat for liberation in each separate country—this is the banner which it has unfurled before the proletariat and revolutionary writers of the entire world.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RESOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION ON PROLETARIAN AND REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE IN AMERICA

The American delegation to the Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers, representing the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* declares its complete approval of the platform of the International Union. It believes that the adoption of this platform will go a long way toward coordinating and strengthening the activities of the proletarian-revolutionary literary forces of the world. The American delegation has not the power, however, to formally affiliate the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* to the International Union of Revolutionary Writers but will bring back a recommendation to this effect to the two revolutionary organizations that it represents.

The severe economic crisis which has seized in an iron grip the entire structure of American capitalism, with its consequent mass unemployment, mass misery and the radicalization of large sections of the American working class, has created the objective conditions for the widening of the influence of the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* and for the strengthening of these two closely related revolutionary bodies both organizationally and ideologically. The tremendous sharpening of class antagonisms in the United States, the imminent danger of imperialist war, especially of war against the Soviet Union, place in the foreground the necessity of building up in the United States a powerful mass proletarian-revolutionary cultural movement that will enable us to cope with the great tasks that face us. Toward this end and on the basis of the work of the International Conference, the American delegation has outlined the following program of activity for recommendation to our organizations:

1. The widening of the activity of the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* in two directions: a) extending the proletarian base of our movement by drawing in new proletarian elements, b) winning over of radicalized intellectuals. In the drawing in of new proletarian elements we must overcome a serious shortcoming and establish close contacts with the worker correspondents. In addition, we must continue, as the John Reed Club has done in the past, to align the intellectuals outside our ranks in support of specific campaigns.

2. In drawing in new elements, both proletarian and intellectual, the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* should pay special attention



to the development of Negro writers and artists and should make efforts to stimulate revolutionary activity among the Negro working masses. The *New Masses* has already done some work in this direction, but the John Reed Club has neglected it entirely—a serious shortcoming. In addition, we must give all possible aid to other revolutionary organizations in campaigns against lynching and other persecutions of Negroes.

3. We must stimulate as much as possible the organization on a national scale of a federation of all cultural groups in all languages in the United States.

4. Up till now the theoretical aspects of our work have been almost entirely neglected. Both the John Reed Club and the *New Masses* need to have more serious discussions of theoretical problems. The American delegation also urges the International Union of Revolutionary Writers to further the translation into English of the classics of Marxian literary criticism such as Plekhanov, F. Mehring, etc. Also, a book of Marxist criticism based on specific American conditions is a crying need. Such a book could be written under the direction of the Secretariat of the IURW, the forces being supplied by our organizations.

5. To establish closer contacts with the masses and to clarify our creative and theoretical problems we urge the arrangement of open forums where individual works by our writers can be discussed.

6. At present the contacts of the John Reed Club with its members outside New York are very slight. Closer contacts need to be established, wherever possible branches of the club should be organized and other cultural groups initiated and stimulated.

7. Closer contacts between our organization and organizations and publications in foreign countries need to be established. It is especially important for us to form close contacts with and to aid in every way possible revolutionary cultural activity in England, Canada, the Latin-American countries and the colonies of American imperialism.

8. The furthering of the publication of mass pamphlets, written in simple language, is an important task. The John Reed Club has already begun efforts in this direction.

9. The organization of agitprop troops on the order of the Blue Blouses in the Soviet Union and similar groups in Germany is an all-important task which can no longer be neglected. We urge that our organizations take the initiative in this respect, establish connections with the groups in the Soviet Union and Germany and secure from them both material and guidance.

10. The strengthening of the *New Masses* must occupy one of the chief places in our program of activity. Its influence and appeal, already considerable, must be extended by reflecting clearly and continuously the struggles of the working class. It should also participate actively in all the important cultural and political campaigns. This can be greatly furthered by encouraging contributions from worker correspondents.

Fred Ellis, Michael Gold, William Gropper,  
Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil, Harry  
Allan Potamkin

On the very eve of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the League of American Writers held its own first congress, April 26-28, 1935. Because of the failure of the CPUSA leaders to comprehend the ideological changes which were transpiring in the Socialist fatherland, the first congress of the league placed excessive emphasis upon the "revolutionary upsurge."<sup>1</sup> At the second congress held 2 years later, clamor for violent revolution was suppressed in favor of pleas for peace, prosperity, and progress.

According to William Z. Foster, the League of American Writers was much broader in scope than the John Reed Clubs which it replaced.<sup>2</sup> Once the Trojan horse tactics of the Seventh World Congress permitted the league greater freedom of action, it became a powerful force in cultural circles and especially in Hollywood.<sup>3</sup> For a few years, it gave qualified approval to the New Deal. But as soon as Stalin and Hitler exchanged the kiss of peace, Roosevelt became an ogre, a strikebreaker, and a coddler of Fascists (this section, exhibits Nos. 23 and 43). By the time that the League of American Writers was dissolved in 1941, the CPUSA had spawned scores of more attractive fronts for writers and artists.<sup>4</sup>

Those intellectuals who could not accept the implications of the Nazi-Soviet Pact were properly castigated by V. J. Jerome, the party's cultural commissar.<sup>5</sup> Although many of these literary sympathizers were probably surprised by the turn of events, they should have been prepared for any eventuality.<sup>6</sup> At the first congress of the league, Earl Browder frankly declared that the party intended to guide its members in all fields of thought.

### EXHIBIT No. 59

[*Imprcorr*, June 1, 1935. Pp. 618-619]

## UNITED STATES—THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

By R. G. Crane (New York)

With the organisation of a permanent League of American Writers, the three-day sessions of the first American Writers' Congress came to an end on Sunday, April 28. From the opening mass meeting, attended by an overflow audience of 5,000 in one of New York's largest auditoria, till the conclusion of the last closed work session, the 400 writer-delegates and guests bent themselves to the key task before them: to weld an alliance between the writers and the working class for the defence of culture against the barbarism and degradation of fascism and war.

This realisation—that fascism is death to culture, and that the working class, as Hathaway declared later, "by its very class position, by virtue of the fact that it is oppressed, by virtue of the fact that it is best organised and best disciplined, stands and must stand in the forefront of the struggle against capitalism and for progress," animated every session of the Congress, was reiterated by speaker after speaker. It bore fruit not only in the resolutions and the organisational plans adopted, but also in the very clarification of highly technical literary problems. And finally, it made of this Congress the springboard to wide, organised, effective participation by American writers in the struggles of the working masses.

The report on credentials, delivered by Orrick Johns, National Secretary of the John Reed Clubs of America, showed a total of 214 delegates and 106 guests, as well as 65 representatives of the press. There were 36 women, 21 Negro delegates and guests.

<sup>1</sup> Lyons, *Red Decade*, pp. 145-148.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Budenz, *Men Without Faces*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Ollvor P'lat, *The Atom Spies*, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1952, pp. 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> V. J. Jerome, *Intellectuals and the War*, New York, Workers Library Publishers, n. d. (1940?).

<sup>6</sup> Massimo Salvadori (Smith and Bennington Colleges), *The Rise of Modern Communism*, New York, Holt, 1952, pp. 49, 107-108.

Sixty-four came from points outside New York City, from a total of 24 states.

The opening session brought the writers face to face with their public. By their applause and their enthusiasm, the 5,000 workers and intellectuals present demonstrated their whole-hearted support of the Congress. Granville Hicks, noted critic, author of *The Great Tradition*, opened with a short address; he compared the proposal for the organisation of a league of writers with that of the American League Against War and Fascism, launched at a similar gathering nearly two years ago.

Addresses followed by Malcolm Cowley, an editor of *The New Republic* and author of *Exile's Return*; by Waldo Frank, noted novelist and critic; by Moishe Nadir, celebrated Yiddish poet, who spoke for the foreign language writers; by Josephine Herbst, novelist and correspondent, whose recent first-hand account in the *New Masses* of the Cuban revolutionary struggles furnished, perhaps, the finest piece of reportage that magazine has yet printed.

The high point of the evening was reached when Friedrich Wolf, physician, playwright, author of *Sailors of Cattaro*, and exile from Nazi Germany, came forward to bring greetings from the German writers and the International Union of Workers' Theatres. Shouting, cheering, the audience rose to its feet in a tremendous gesture of solidarity with the exiled and tortured anti-fascist fighters of Germany.

I bring greetings,

Comrade Wolf began in English,

in the name of the writers who are being slaughtered in the concentration camps of Hitler, in the name of the writers who were murdered by the fascist butchers. I bring greetings in the name of Ludwig Renn, who told the military court in Berlin last year: "I was a Communist, I am a Communist, and I will remain a Communist even if it means death . . ." The concentration camps of Germany are the spots where the united front between the Left bourgeoisie and the proletariat is being welded. . . . When the time comes, we shall invite you, comrades, to our free Soviet Germany.

Earl Browder, speaking for the Communist Party, stressed the role of the Party in the creation of fine literature as well as in the fight against reaction. "The first demand of the Party upon its writer-members," asserted Browder, "is that they shall be good writers, constantly better writers, for only so can they really serve the Party. We do not want to take good writers and make bad strike leaders of them." He went on to discuss the development of publications on the Left, showing how during the last sixteen months there has been a steady and significant growth in the number of revolutionary magazines.

Other addresses delivered included a Paper by Langston Hughes, Negro poet and short-story writer; a talk by Hays Jones, editor of *The Marine Workers' Voice*, publication of the Left-wing marine workers' union, who invited the writers in the name of the rank and file workers to "come to the proletariat, the only live thing in capitalist society." Michael Gold, pioneer proletarian writer and one of the best-loved figures of the revolutionary movement, spoke of the growth of culture in the Soviet Union.

The two closed sessions of the Congress on the following days were given over to the discussion of important literary and political

questions before the writers. Joseph Freeman opened the second session with a Paper on the tradition of American revolutionary literature, tracing the history and development of proletarian culture and pointing out to the writers that they

“who represent all that is most promising in American literature have taken over the heritage of progressive and revolutionary thought, have enriched it with their craftsmanship as it has enriched them with its insight. For the first time in the history of our country, the literary allies of the proletariat may be counted not by the dozens but by the hundreds.”

A Paper on proletarian poetry was read by Isidor Schneider, and one on the problems of the Negro writer by Eugene Gordon.

At the afternoon session four delegates from Mexico greeted the Congress in the name of our Latin-American comrades. Among them were Jose Mancisidor and Juan de la Cabada, who asked support for a new Spanish language magazine, *Without Frontiers*, intended for the Latin-American masses of both continents of the western hemisphere; they called for a Pan-American Writers' Congress to be held in the near future. Solidarity in the struggle against American imperialism was pleaded for also by Lola de la Torriente, Cuban delegate, editor of the suppressed *La Palabra*, who likewise endorsed the proposal for a Pan-American Congress in her talk on the following day.

At the concluding session Papers were read by Meridel Le Sueur, Mid-western correspondent and short-story writer; by James T. Farrell, an outstanding novelist; by Matthew Josephson, biographer and historian; by Eugene Clay, Negro writer; by Moissaye Olgin, on the Soviet Writers' Congress; by Malcolm Cowley, on “What the Revolutionary Movement Can Give to the Writer”; by Granville Hicks, on the development of Marxist criticism; by Albert Maltz, author of *Black Pit* and co-author of *Stevedore* (Theatre Union successes of the past year), by John Howard Lawson, well-known playwright.

Clarence Hathaway, who brought greetings from the staff of the “Daily Worker,” declared in his talk on “The Revolutionary Press and the Writers”:—

“The Daily Worker” supported the Congress because we were conscious that there must be the closest possible ties between the writers and the revolutionary workers' press.

The question of the market for revolutionary books, one of the most important problems facing the writer, was discussed at length by Henry Hart and by Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers. Hart showed that it is only a matter of time before the publishing of revolutionary literature must be taken over entirely by the workers' press. To provide an outlet for revolutionary books, and to put them in the hands of their intended audience, the workers, a new Book Union has been formed, a workers' “book-of-the-month club.” The plan of the Book Union was outlined to the Congress, and support asked for the project.

Final organisational reports and elections concluded the sessions. The League of American Writers, established by the Congress, will take the following form: It will have an executive committee of 17, led by an executive secretary; a national council, numbering 50 members; these groups to maintain contact with the members.

Membership is to be individual. The work of the League will be primarily the mobilisation of American novelists, poets, critics and dramatists for the cultural struggle against imperialist war and fascism, and for the creation of a revolutionary literature.

Elections to the executive council and the national committee followed the unanimous election by acclamation of Waldo Frank as executive secretary. The Executive Committee, as chosen, includes: Kenneth Burke, Malcolm Cowley, Harold Clurman, Joseph Freeman, Michael Gold, Henry Hart, Josephine Herbst, Edward Dahlberg (novelist), Granville Hicks, Matthew Josephson, Alfred Kreymborg (poet), John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Isidor Schneider, Edwin Seaver, Genevieve Taggard (poet), and Alexander Trachtenberg.

Resolutions adopted by the Congress included the following: To support the Congress in Defence of Culture, to be held in Paris next month, and to organise an American delegation; to endorse the call for a Pan-American Writers' Congress; to greet the International Union of Revolutionary Writers and the Union of Soviet Writers; to protest against the policy of American imperialism in Cuba; against the Hearst press. The Congress also voted to endorse the broad united front Committee Against Censorship; to greet the imprisoned editors of the Cuban *Las Masas*; to protest to the Mexican government against its obstructing the free circulation of working-class literature. Greetings were sent to the Sacramento prisoners, to the Gallup frame-up victims, to the Scottsboro Boys, Tom Mooney, Herndon, and McNamara. The efforts of the Writers' Union to secure relief work for writers on relief projects were endorsed by the Congress. Finally, the Congress voted to attend the United Front May Day parade in a body, thus symbolising concretely their alliance with the workers.

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The American Peace Mobilization (APM) was the Nazi-Soviet Pact successor to the American League for Peace and Democracy. As such it became one more Communist front exploiting the "peace" theme accorded to the prevailing Soviet foreign policy.<sup>1</sup> Its primary objective was sabotage of President Roosevelt's program for adequate national defense.<sup>2</sup> For months, the APM had maintained a "perpetual peace vigil" picket line in front of the White House.<sup>3</sup> Immediately upon the arrival of news about the invasion of the U. S. S. R., the picket line disappeared. Foster's only comment: the APM was dissolved in 1941.<sup>4</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 60

[*World News and Views*, February 15, 1941. P. 104]

#### AMERICA—CALL FOR A PEOPLE'S PEACE

NEW YORK (By Cable).—The "American Peace Mobilisation" has called on the people of the American nation to rally to a great "American People's Meeting" in New York on April 5 and 6 to halt the drive to war.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Matthews, *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveller*, New York, Mount Vernon, 1938, pp. 135-138, outlines the history of the predecessors of APM.

<sup>2</sup> Budenz, *My Story*, pp. 201-202, 200-210.

<sup>3</sup> In 1952 and 1953, a much more spectacular vigil before the White House was conducted on behalf of the atom spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: *Trial by Treason*, Committee on Un-American Activities, 1956, pp. 34-35, 50-52, 112-114.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 420.

The text of the call reads:

*"To all friends of peace and liberty! Fellow Americans—We are endangered. The tragic days of 1917 and of the American Expeditionary Force are almost here again. Our trade unions are under attack. The right to strike is being taken away. Our farmers are being driven from their land, their products are selling below cost. We are paying more for food. Our rents are being increased. Our wages are being held down. Unemployment continues and our relief is being cut.*

*"Discrimination against our Negro people is increasing. Attacks against the Jewish people are being intensified. Our 'non-citizens' have been fingerprinted.*

*"There are virtually no jobs for the youth. Four million people are being placed under military law.*

*"Congress continues to deny the vote to ten million American citizens. The minority parties are being rapidly suppressed. We are being intimidated and spied upon. Persons and papers are being seized without warrant. Our constitutional rights are being taken from us.*

*"This is how democracy was blacked out in Germany and France, how it is being blacked out in England, and how it will be blacked out here unless labour and the people unite and act.*

*"These things have happened to us because our statesmen and the economic royalists are violating the will of the people. Men in high places are dragging us into a war 3,000 miles away. It is not a war to defend democracy—it is a war to line the pockets of the corporate interests at the expense of the peoples of the world.*

*"All-out aid to the British Empire or any other such warring empire means total war for the American people.*

*"There is a way out. The drive toward fascist rule in America and to total war CAN be stopped. Sovereignty belongs to the people. A united people's anti-war movement can save America from the horrors of war and from the barbarity of fascism.*

*"In order to get out and stay out of World War No. 2; to fight every step of the war; to regain and strengthen our democracy; to secure the rights of Labour: WORK FOR A PEOPLE'S PEACE.*

*"We call on the workers of mill and mine and factory and office and railroad and ships, upon the farmers, the unemployed, the Churches, upon the Negro people, the youth and aged; to meet in their unions and organisations and shops and mass meetings and Churches, to elect representatives to the American People's Meeting, to take steps to mobilise the people for Peace, Liberty and the Common Welfare."*

This call was issued by the Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilisation, and has already been endorsed by the Rev. John Thompson; Theodor Dreiser; Representative Marcantonio; Jack McMichael, of the American Youth Congress; Reid Robinson, President of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Katherine Terrill, secretary of the Council for Social Action of the Congressional and Christian Churches; Charles Egley, Minnesota Farmers' Union;

**Hugh Delacey, Washington Commonwealth Federation; Herman Long, Southern Negro Youth Congress; George F. Murphy, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People; and many others.**

## V. LABOR

According to William Z. Foster, the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) was organized in November 1920.<sup>1</sup> The TUEL did not amount to anything, however, until it became affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions (sec. D, exhibits Nos. 14 and 15). In the spring of 1921, Foster went to Moscow to obtain funds and directives for his attack on the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers, and other unions in the United States.<sup>2</sup> A. Lozovsky, who later became Stalin's chief lieutenant for labor matters (sec. B, exhibit No. 38), personally undertook to train Foster to "bore from within" American unions. From 1921 to 1928, infiltration and possible capture of existing organizations was generally preferred to sabotage from the outside. All of which was perfectly in accord with Lenin's line as handed down in "*Left-Wing Communism*" (sec. A, exhibit No. 10) and again at the Third World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 7).

### EXHIBIT No. 61.

[Chicago, Trade Union Educational League, n. d. *Resolutions and Decisions, Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, Held in Moscow, July 1924.* Pp. 49-56.]

## NO. 20. PROGRAM FOR THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

### I. GENERAL POLICIES

**Revolutionary Goal.** At all times and in all its campaigns and publications, the League shall emphasize the revolutionary aims of the left wing. It shall carry on a ceaseless warfare against the bourgeois ideology and organizations. It shall seek to destroy the workers' faith in the capitalist system and to turn their eyes towards the establishment of a Communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**b. Wages, hours and working conditions.** In all movements of the workers to improve their standards of living or to resist attack upon the same by the employers, the League shall take an active part. In each case it must develop a complete program of its own and popularize this against all other programs. The league shall carry on an intensive campaign for the shortening of the labor hours, increasing of wages, improving working conditions, and it shall stimulate the workers, both organized and unorganized to conduct an effective struggle against exploitation. In the coming industrial crisis in the United States, the league must raise throughout the labor movement, the slogan of "No reductions in wages and no lengthening of the working hours."

**c. Organize the Unorganized.** This campaign must be pushed with unrelenting energy, because the organization of the many millions now outside of the unions is one of the supreme tasks confronting the working class as a whole and the left wing movement as representing the real interests of the working class. "Organize

<sup>1</sup> Foster, History of OPUSA, pp. 203-208; *From Bryan to Stalin*, New York, International Publishers, 1937, chs. X-XIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Attempt by Communists To Seize the American Labor Movement*. Prepared by the United Mine Workers of America. 68th Cong., 1st sess., U. S. Senate, Document No. 14, January 3, 1924. Benjamin Stolberg, *Taylor's Progress*, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1944, pp. 114-117, 125-126, 132-133, 314.

the Unorganized'' is not a temporary slogan that may be cast aside when industrial depression sets in. It must be continued constantly in good and bad times, until the masses are organized. In periods of prosperity this slogan builds the union and during the industrial depressions it holds them together. The campaigns should take the following general forms:

1. To stimulate the A. F. of L. unions to take in the unorganized.

2. To build up the present independent mass unions.

3. To support the foundation of new unions wherever practical, by utilizing the Workers' Party industrial nuclei, local branches of the League, shop committees, and such other connections as can be made use of. No one of these methods should be used to the exclusion of the others. All must be employed as expediency dictates. Every means must be utilized to create mass organizations. Special attention must be given to the organization of the agricultural laborers.

d. *Labor Party.* The league shall take an active part in the building of the labor party. This movement not only teaches the workers their first lesson in class political action, but it also furnishes a favorable ground for the left wing to fight the trade union bureaucracy and to bring about trade union progress generally. The league must take full advantage of the favorable situation created by the labor party movement.

e. *Unemployment.* In the industrial crisis now developing in the United States and Canada, the league shall take an active part in organizing the unemployed into national and local councils, and other necessary formations. Wherever possible, these bodies shall work in close co-operation with the trade unions. The league shall stir up the trade unions everywhere to interest themselves in the question of unemployment. However, when the trade unions are unwilling to take up the organizing of the unemployed, or wherever they offer a resistance, the league shall create unemployed councils, etc., and conduct the work of the unemployed independently. It shall demand that the employers and the government shall provide work and funds amounting to full maintenance of the workers. It shall also demand that the unions themselves share their funds and work with those of their members who are unemployed.

f. *Amalgamation.* The amalgamation campaign is not a temporary one, to be abandoned in periods of industrial depression; it must be continued relentlessly and until the various craft unions are consolidated into industrial unions. Organization by industry instead of by craft, is a burning need of the workers in good times and bad. Under the flag of autonomy small unions and federations continue their miserable existence, having neither the strength nor the means to fight against capitalism, and yet refusing to amalgamate with kindred trades. A vigorous struggle should be carried on for the creation of centralized industrial organizations. It is necessary to strive towards concentration of the means and methods of struggle for a national utilization of all the forces of the working class. The independent unions shall also be included in the league's amalgamation programs.

In conjunction with the amalgamation plan the unions affiliated with the United Labor Council shall carry on an active campaign for



admission as a bloc to the A. F. of L. unions in the same industry and the council itself shall co-ordinate the activities of its unions in this direction.

A leading principle in all amalgamation plans is to put the revolutionaries in control of the amalgamated unions.

g. *The United Front.* The T. U. E. L. shall pursue the policy of the United Front. It shall seek to unite all the workers for revolutionary action along class lines. The United Front shall not consist of alliances or blocs with trade union bureaucrats—though some of them may be dealt with under favorable circumstances—but it shall be based upon a common understanding, unity and action, of the rank and file, of the labor organizations involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The United Front shall not be conceived as an aim in itself, but as a means to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders and to unite them upon the basis of a revolutionary program and action.

h. *Exposure of Bureaucracy.* The league shall make a special point of exposing the corruption of the trade union leaders. For this purpose a pamphlet shall be issued exposing in detail the crimes of the trade union leaders against the rank and file of the unions and the whole working class. This policy of exposure shall be carried on vigorously in all the league's publications.

i. *Recognition of Soviet Russia.* The league campaign for the full commercial and diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia shall be intensified; the recognition of Russia by England, Italy, and other countries, makes this campaign the more timely and effective in the United States.

j. *Negro Workers.* The problem of the politically and industrially disfranchised Negroes shall occupy the serious attention of the league. The league shall demand that the Negroes be given the same social, political and industrial rights as whites, including the right to work in all trades, equal wages, admission into all trade unions, abolition of Jim Crow cars, restaurants, etc. The league shall issue a special pamphlet dealing with the Negro workers.

k. *Injunctions.* The league shall take the lead in the fight of the American working class against the injunction. Whenever and wherever an injunction is issued by the courts against strikers, depriving them of their rights, the league shall endeavor to arouse the strikers and the trade union movement in general to mass violation of the injunction.

l. *Expulsions.* The league shall continue the present policy in case of expulsions from the trade unions. Wherever the expelled workers are few in number they shall be kept in the local leagues and in close connection with the National Industrial Committees. But when they are great in number, they shall be formed into unions of the expelled. These expelled members shall endeavor to fight their way back into the old organizations, except in such cases where the best course is plainly to form a new organization. For this purpose mass movements of the rank and file should be organized to fight against expulsions and for reinstatement. Where the bureaucrats attack the league in overwhelming force, it shall become a secret organization.

m. *Canadian Autonomy.* The movement of the Canadian unions for autonomy within the American trade unions is endorsed. This autonomy shall take the form of the establishment of Canadian

sections of all American unions having branches in Canada. These autonomous sections shall be united together in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. They must secure full right to declare strikes, to organize the masses, and to raise all necessary funds. The aim of the league shall be the building of the whole Canadian labor movement into a solid organization and to bring it into direct conflict with the Canadian employers and state. The autonomy of the Canadian unions should not lead to a cleavage between the Canadian and American labor movements.

n. *Industrial Affiliations.* The league shall intensify its campaigns for the affiliation of the trade unions to the R. I. L. U. Capitalism is international, and labor must internationally resist the assaults of the world-wide capitalist class. This must be driven home to the American working class, which as yet has hardly acquired a glimmering of the need for international solidarity and action of the working class. The league must point out the fallacy of the present policy of isolation and seek to bring the American workers into relationship with the workers in other countries. For this purpose, resolutions on the question of affiliation to the R. I. U. U. shall be presented in all trade union conventions.

o. *Shop Committees.* The league shall carry on active propaganda in favor of the organization of shop committees in the industries generally. These shop committees shall be elected by all employees of a given industrial establishment, irrespective of sex, color, nationality, skill, etc. The shop committees shall serve to unite all the workers in the various establishments, whether members of a union or not. The shop committees shall voice the demands of the workers and form the basis for a common struggle against capitalism. Wherever possible, such shop committees shall be utilized for the organization of the unorganized. The league shall strive to reorganize the old unions into industrial unions, based on shop committees.

p. *Workers' Control.* The league shall put forth the slogan of "workers' control of industry." The campaign for the establishment of shop committees shall be accompanied by a propaganda for the workers' control. The shop committees, working under the direction of the labor unions, shall aim to break the power of the employers in the industries. The shop committees shall demand and fight for the right to control the financial and technical sides of industry, to control the hiring and discharging of workers, to penetrate the financial and commercial secrets of the employers, to regulate the supply of raw materials and the distribution of finished products. They shall aim to revolutionize the masses and to turn their trade unions into fighting working class organizations. They shall strive to give the workers the necessary industrial and political education and organization to carry them in co-operation with the revolutionary political organizations, victoriously through the final struggle against the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Communist society.

## II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE

One of the most urgent problems confronting the league is to consolidate the existing revolutionary sentiment into concrete organization. The league does not and must not rest solely within the realms of propaganda. It must redouble its efforts to build a real

organization. It must follow up its various campaigns with work to bring the sympathetic elements into definite organization. At the same time it shall take the necessary precaution to protect itself from the attack as a dual union, by the trade union bureaucracy. To these needs the following organizational measures are necessary:

a. *National Industrial Committees.* In each industry there shall be a national committee, alive and functioning vigorously. These committees shall serve to unite all the revolutionary and sympathetic elements in their respective spheres. As soon as possible there shall be created sub-national committees within the national industrial committees to correspond with the important unions in the several industries. The national industrial committees shall each aim to keep a paid secretary in the field. These committees shall keep in close touch with the International Propaganda Committees and shall send them regular quarterly reports, and such other information as may be necessary to keep them in touch with the development of the American labor movement.

b. *Local General Groups.* In each city there shall be organized a local general group. These local general groups shall consist of all the revolutionary elements in the vicinity, either members of or eligible to membership in the trade unions. These members shall be required to subscribe to the class struggle propaganda fund, subscribe to the Labor Herald and to satisfy a local committee as to their sympathies with the movement. The local general groups shall be sub-divided into local industrial groups, and these shall be affiliated to their respective national industrial committees. The local general groups are of the most vital importance to the league, and every effort should be made to have them established in all industrial districts.

c. *The League Press.* In addition to the Labor Herald, there shall be established bulletins for each national industrial committee and also for the four districts of the league. These bulletins must carry the full program of the league at all times. The industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committees, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the league shall issue a news service to furnish information on the league's activities to the press of the Workers Party and the labor press. Each national industrial committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The league shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to these else here mentioned, there shall be pamphlet on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the matter on the activities of the R. I. L. U., to be furnished by the latter.

d. *Finance.* The finance system of the league must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the league and consolidating the members into a definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a class struggle propaganda fund, independent of the league. Every member of the league should subscribe regular contributions to the fund. The contributions should be monthly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the class struggle propaganda fund, and to enlist all possible sub-

scribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the league unless he contributes to the class struggle propaganda fund. Fifty per cent of this fund shall go to the national league, the other fifty per cent shall be divided between the local general groups, the national industrial committees and the district. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainments, sale of literature, donations, etc., shall be continued and intensified. The national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. Such funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal. The national industrial committee shall not introduce individual contribution systems in connection with the class struggle propaganda fund.

### III. METHODS OF WORK

The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to become merely a propaganda body. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggles, no matter how these manifest themselves. It must emphasize the importance of direct action and seek to constantly throw ever larger masses of workers more militantly against the employers and the capitalist state. In addition to being educational, the league must be the every-day leader in the battles against capital. In all strikes its militants must be highly active, with a program covering every phase of the situation. In all conventions they must carry on a systematic and thoroughly prepared campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the league to content itself with action and conventions alone, however, would be as great a mistake as for it to ignore conventions altogether and to concentrate entirely upon strikes. The two branches of work, in conventions are strikes, but go hand in hand, supplementing and strengthening each other. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the league. In every possible case the league shall place candidates against the reactionaries in the local and national union elections, and use these elections to the utmost for propaganda purposes.

### IV. RELATIONS OF LEAGUE TO INDEPENDENT UNIONS

The league recognizes the present importance of the independent unions and shall remain in friendly and helpful connections with them in the class struggle.

a. *Red International Committees.* The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary minorities and the revolutionary unions, is endorsed. There shall be a campaign made to bring all the available independent unions in the Red International Committees and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices, direct or indirect, of the R. I. L. U. and the U. L. C. of A. The R. I. C. shall be made up of independent unions and revolutionary minorities, which shall have voting strength equal in the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the un-

organized, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the labor party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U. and the whole left wing program. The league shall be the representative of the Profintern in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary nuclei in the independent unions affiliated to the Profintern shall be party nuclei, and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

b. *Red International Affiliation Committees.* The formation of the Red International Affiliation Committee for work within the I. W. W. is endorsed. The League recognizes that revolutionary importance of the I. W. W. and the R. I. A. C. is intrusted to establish all possible connections within that organization. The attitude of the R. I. A. C. towards the I. W. W. shall be one of friendly cooperation and criticism. While pointing out definitely and clearly the mistakes in the I. W. W. ideology and tactics, the R. I. A. C. shall do everything possible to participate effectively in the I. W. W. struggles and to win the support of its membership and to secure the affiliation of the I. W. W. to the R. I. L. U. Wherever possible, united front arrangements in defense work, strikes, etc., shall be established between the league and the I. W. W. As soon as practicable, the R. I. A. C. shall issue a bulletin.

#### V. RELATIONS OF THE LEAGUE WITH THE WORKERS' PARTY

a. *Build the Party.* The political and economic struggle of the working class is inseparable. The league recognizes the futility of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of the revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers Party. To this end, all the struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the league for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc., etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers Party.

b. *Build the League.* The league recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers Party. To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members of the party into the unions and into the league, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch and official of the Workers Party held responsible by the Workers Party for the establishment, maintenance and functioning of the league in their respective localities.

#### NO. 21. PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE CANADIAN DISTRICT OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

While the general program adopted for the Trade Union Educational League applies throughout North America, the economic and organizational conditions existing in Canada render an additional and particularly Canadian program necessary. To meet this need, the following concrete tasks are laid down as a basis for the activities of the Canadian membership in their immediate work.

## AUTONOMY

The inevitable sharpening of the struggle in the near future renders a great degree of autonomy for the trade union movement of Canada essential. Autonomy does not mean a cleavage between the movement of Canada and that of the United States. Neither is the autonomy movement inspired by chauvinistic ideas regarding our ability to emancipate the workers by ourselves. It is inspired by their realization that the Canadian movement must be free to function as a unit; and the Trades Congress of Canada, which at present embraces less than half of the organized workers, must unite them all and be able to co-ordinate their struggle.

Power to initiate action and to extend and lead the class struggle within the confines of Canada, as well as to levy assessments for the assistance of affiliated organizations on strike, would make the Trades Congress a real centre of Canadian unionism and by rallying our small locals for united struggles, would completely change the face of the Canadian trade union movement.

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After Stalin had exploited such "right-wing opportunists" as Bukharin, head of the Comintern, and Tomsky, Commissar of Soviet Labor, in order to destroy the "left-wing deviationists" like Trotsky and Zinoviev, he proceeded to eliminate the former (see. B, exhibits Nos. 26, 28, and 31). Whereupon he adopted the left-wing strategy which he had repudiated in 1925 (see. B, exhibit No. 22). Beginning in late 1927, Lozovsky launched a bitter attack upon the American comrades for dancing around the AFL instead of setting up a complete rival organization of their own.<sup>1</sup> At the Sixth World Congress held in the summer of 1928, final plans were released for the establishment of a Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) which was to replace the "milder" TUEL.

In commenting upon the termination of "class collaboration" after 1928, Foster conceded that "considerable sectarian tendencies" prevented the normal development of the Communist labor movement.<sup>2</sup> Translating his Aesopian doubletalk into plain English, one comes to understand that Stalin's left-wing tactics were even less effective than were those of the TUEL. The American Federation of Labor would have no part of the Moscow line.<sup>3</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 62

[*Daily Worker*, February 15, 1930, p. 6; February 17, 1930, p. 4]

## TASKS OF THE TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE

(Resolution adopted by the Sixth Congress \* of the Red International of Labor-  
Unions Central Council)

I. The economic depression in the United States of America which precipitated the great Stock Exchange crash and which in turn transformed the depression into a deep economic crisis, results—through wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, government-fascist attacks, etc.—in accelerating the tempo of the radicalization of the masses and in giving it a more definitely revolutionary character. The working class will increasingly go over from the defensive to the counter-offensive, as exemplified by the Illinois miners' strike. This crisis has dealt a deathblow to the bourgeois-Lovestone theories of American "exceptionalism," has shattered the illusions of continued "pros-

<sup>1</sup> Phillip Taft, *The Structure and Government of Labor Unions*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 12. Stolberg, *Tailor's Progress*, pp. 144-146.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 253; *Bryan to Stalin*, chs. XIV and XV.

<sup>3</sup> Taft, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-14.

\* The sixth session met in December, 1929.

perity" of American capitalism, and has confirmed the correctness of the policy of the Fourth Red International of Labor-Unions Congress on the American question.

II. The "economic council" formed by Hoover is in reality a war council directed against the working masses. Hoover's "plan" to overcome the crisis is a plan to further enrich the capitalists and degrade the working masses. This "plan" is cloaked with phrases of class peace, of relief for the unemployed, for continued "prosperity" and is intended to create new illusions among the masses, while the real aim of the plan is to take advantage of cheap labor for constructions in connection with war preparations, to crush strikes and further intensify rationalization. In these capitalist attacks, the workers will have arrayed against them the triple alliance of the government, the employers, and the social fascist leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party. The American Federation of Labor as part of the employers' and State apparatus has already in its no-wage-increase agreement with Hoover begun to put into effect its expanded strike-breaking-wage-cutting program.

III. In the present period of sharpening class struggle, the most dangerous obstacle in the way of the development and growth of the revolutionary unions are the so-called left demagogues of the Muste type who are but a shield for the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party bureaucracy. Their use of radical phrases enables them to more effectively deceive and mislead the workers and keep them tied up to the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy. These elements become specially dangers with the development of a strong leftward drift among the workers. They are part of the strike-breaking apparatus of the employers and must be fought mercilessly. At the same time the adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions must combat most energetically all right opportunist elements of the Hitlow-Cannon type who hinder the development of a disciplined, centralized mass revolutionary trade-union movement and who work into the hands of the enemies of the Red International of Labor Unions.

IV. The new situation in the United States of America presents a highly favorable opportunity for the growth of the Trade Union Unity League and its affiliated unions. The great task of the Trade Union Unity League is to mobilize the masses of workers in order to smash the offensive of the capitalists. The Trade Union Unity League must come forward more and more as the leader of all the workers in their struggles, independently of and against the social fascist leaders and their "left" Musteite supporters. It must become the true leading revolutionary trade-union center.

V. The sixth session of the Red International of Labor Unions Central Council notes with approval the success of the Cleveland convention and the establishment of the revolutionary trade-union center. It also notes the carrying through of a number of partially successful strikes by the Red Unions. The Castonia strike has revealed the revolutionary spirit even of sections of the working class considered until now as "most reliable" by the bourgeoisie. But this is only a start. The revolutionary unions should be strengthened. They must fill up their ranks by means of intensive and well-planned organizational campaigns and strike struggles based on the burning needs of the workers. The organization of the unorganized into the

revolutionary unions is the most urgent task confronting the new revolutionary unions. This work must be concentrated in the basic industries which now, owing to the crisis, are opening up particularly favorable prospects for the work of the Trade Union Unity League, such as oil, chemicals, food (packing house), automobile, steel, etc., and especially in those of a war character, without, however, in any way relaxing its activities in the mining, textile, and other industries. The Trade Union Unity League must take up the work of organizing the large number of exploited agricultural and lumber workers.

VI. The orientation of the Trade Union Unity League must be upon the organization of the most exploited sections of the working class—the unskilled, negroes, women, youth, the Latin American and oriental workers, etc. In this way the Trade Union Unity League must become the representative of the economic interests of the whole proletariat in the industries.

VII. The sixth session takes cognizance of the progress made in drawing negroes into the revolutionary unions and the beginning of actual struggle against the Jim Crow system (Belleville, Bicknell, etc.). The Castonia strike has historically demonstrated that the barriers between black and white workers cultivated assiduously by the bourgeoisie, especially in the South, can be smashed, and the workers, irrespective of race, mobilized for common struggle against the employers. Life itself has shown the incorrectness of the proposal for the formation of separate negro locals of the revolutionary unions. The Red International of Labor Unions at the same time points out the failure of the Trade Union Unity League to sufficiently raise or support the slogan of self determination in its negro work as well as the still inadequate organization of the negro workers. A relentless struggle is necessary against white chauvinism from which the new unions are not free.

VIII. In developing the leadership and organization of the masses, the main tasks of the Trade Union Unity League in the present exceptionally favorable situation are:

(A) *The fight against capitalist rationalization.*—That is (a) against intensification of labor in all forms, through speed-up, by piecework, speeding up of conveyors, etc.; (b) against the lowering of real wages, the payment of cheaper rates to women, youth, children, etc., or the firing or rehiring at lower wages (Ford, etc., against the 40-45 year age limit in industry; (c) for wage increases, 7-hour day, 5-day week, etc. Concrete programs against rationalization shall be worked out for the various industries.

(B) *The struggle of the unemployed.*—In the present situation the organization and the leading of the unemployed becomes one of the fundamental tasks. A broad unemployed movement on the national scale shall be organized, guided, and led by the Trade Union Unity League. Concrete demands shall be framed, such as adequate unemployment insurance, old age pensions, sick and accident insurance, etc., to be paid for by the employers and the State and administered by the workers. Demands of a character to immediately relieve the distress of the unemployed are especially to be fought for in the industries and localities employing these workers. Direct struggle shall be made for lowering of rents, against the mass discharges, against evictions of unemployed, for full wages for the part-time employed, etc. These demands are to be fought



through mass struggles. The fight of the unemployed must be linked up with that of the employed, and the masses drawn into the revolutionary unions. The Trade Union Unity League has seriously neglected the unemployment issue.

(C) *The politicalization of the economic struggles and strike strategy.*—With the growing economic crisis in the United States of America, the consequent intensification of the class struggle, and with the united front of the State, the employers and the social fascist trade-union bureaucracy against the workers, the economic struggles between capital and labor inevitably assume a deeply political character. Out of the many partial economic strikes in defense of the working conditions and living standards of the proletariat, the revolutionary trade-unions in America will, by following the general principles of our revolutionary strike strategy and tactics (see Strassburg conference decisions) and by skillfully combining economic and political demands be able to bring the American working class on the broad road of mass political strikes. The Trade Union Unity League must be more alert to link up its struggles with the struggles of the international proletariat against the Young plan, and against the war danger, for the defense of the Soviet Union, etc. The Trade Union Unity League must especially give active aid to the revolutionary movement of Latin America, the Philippines, and establish contacts with the young trade-union movement in the Caribbean, especially in Haiti, the Virgin Islands, etc., in their struggle against American imperialism. It must establish closer connections with the Red International of Labor Unions, with the I. C. P. and A's.

(D) *The transformation of the revolutionary unions into mass organizations.*—In order to achieve independent leadership of the masses and to build the revolutionary unions into powerful organizations it is necessary that the Trade Union Unity League shall develop effective organizational methods. The approach to the unorganized masses must be through initiatory league groups and factory committees. The central task of the Trade Union Unity League at the present time is to broaden out our unions, drawing into them the largest possible masses of unorganized, to organize new unions in those industries where there are as yet no class unions in existence, utilizing the economic struggles and every mass movement for extending the influence of the Trade Union Unity League among the masses and for driving the social fascists from their positions. In the development of strike movements, whether among the unorganized workers or those united in our own unions, or those in the social fascist organizations, the Trade Union Unity League shall follow the policy of setting up elected rank and file strike committees and committees of action on a broad scale, gaining the leadership of the masses and drawing them into the struggle. This work shall be based on the principle of the united front from below.

The revolutionary unions must become more centralized and more firmly organized. The loose locals, poor dues collecting systems, weak leading committees, etc., are incompatible with strong fighting organizations. There shall be a better consolidation of the revolutionary unions with the national committee of the Trade Union Unity League and a strengthening of the latter's national departments. The question of building up Labor Unity as the central organ of the revolu-

tionary trade-union movement must be seriously taken up by all national and local organizations of the Trade Union Unity League. There must be closer coordination between the Trade Union Unity League unions and the respective I. C. P. A's.

**Re strike funds:** The Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary unions and the national industrial committees affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League must, in order to conduct the various strike movements with greater success, take immediate steps to create appropriate strike funds. The strike funds shall be made up of regularly apportioned amounts of dues and of collections and contributions instituted among the widest sections of the workers on the eve of and during strikes. Special collections must be organized during strikes. The collection and distribution of these funds must be organized by and centralized in the hands of the Trade Union Unity League and the corresponding revolutionary unions.

Capitalist rationalization draws the women and young workers into industry. There are entire industries employing only women and youth. These, as well as the negroes, are the most exploited sections of the working class. The Trade Union Unity League shall therefore strengthen its work among the women and young workers in industry, draw them into the revolutionary unions and carry out the special decisions of the sixth session relating to women and youth.

The experience of the Trade Union Unity League unions already shows the urgent necessity for training new cadres of union functionaries who are to be recruited from the workers most active during economic struggles. Schools, circles, and courses shall be organized. Special attention should be paid to the drawing of negro workers, women, and youth into the leading organs of the revolutionary trade-union movement.

With the deepening of the economic crisis and the intensification of rationalization, the capitalists and their social fascist allies will do all in their power and use force to smash the strikes of the workers and their revolutionary organizations. Therefore, the Trade Union Unity League shall organize labor defense corps to protect the revolutionary workers (pickets, meetings, etc.) against the attacks of the capitalist agents, strike breakers, fascists, etc.

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#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS, CENTRAL COUNCIL

NOTE.—This is the final installment. The first installment was printed in yesterday's issue.

(E) *Work in the reformist unions.*—Rationalization, unemployment, growing radicalization of the masses, etc., broaden the cleavage between the American Federation of Labor oligarchy and the mass of the rank and file members in the American Federation of Labor unions and creates the conditions for an attack in these unions against the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy. The guiding principle for the Trade Union Unity League and its followers should be: To work wherever the masses are, in the first place—in the shops and factories, among the huge mass of unorganized drawing these

broad masses into the revolutionary trade unions. At the same time, the Trades Union Unity League and its adherents must not neglect their activities among these sections of the workers who are still in the social-fascist trade unions. Wherever our adherents succeed, through such consistent work within the reactionary unions to capture any local organization and win over the majority of its membership, these locals should be joined up to the corresponding revolutionary union of the Trades Union Unity League.

(F) *The fight against opportunism.*—While the revolutionary unions have made some progress in developing the leadership in the new economic struggles, a great many opportunist errors may be noted which seriously hamper the growth of these unions. These errors are based in the main, on the overestimation of the strength of American capitalism (expressed, for example, by the assertion in the program adopted at Cleveland that the “age of competition is gone forever”); under estimation of the radicalization of the masses expressed in retreat before sharp manifestations of the class struggle (Weisbord); the carrying over of reformist trade-union ideology and practice into the revolutionary trade-unions (especially in the needle trades); false estimation of rationalization as a process of technical improvement instead of that of life sapping, health-destroying speed up of human labor. Besides the errors mentioned above, there were various others, such as tendencies to make united front with Muste leaders (Boston shoe strike, panicky moods in the face of growing struggles (miners) tendencies to slip into a state of illegalism with struggles (Illinois miners) etc. Such practices and mistakes are real obstacles to the consolidation of the workers’ ranks and greatly impair the influence of the new unions. All these mistakes must be analyzed and subjected to ruthless self criticisms made before the rank and file of the workers. The fight against the right danger is a basic necessity for the revolutionary unions. Only through a long persistent struggle against opportunism and right tendencies prevailing in the American revolutionary movement will the Trade Union Unity League be able to fulfill its great tasks.

IX. The Trade Union Unity League in the present period is confronted with a great and most responsible task. It must rise to the importance of the moment. The sharpening of the economic crisis, the growing radicalization of the workers, and the intensification of the class struggle confront it with an unprecedented rising tide of working-class activity, which is passing from the defensive to the offensive struggle. To the Trade Union Unity League falls the historic role of leading the great struggles that loom in the near future. If it correctly applies the decisions of the Fourth World Congress and the sixth session of the Red International of Labor Unions Central Council it can fulfill this role effectively and be the means of mobilizing and leading the great masses of workers in the struggle against capital.

X. The sixth session of the Red International of Labor Unions Central Council herewith instructs the Trade Union Unity League to popularize as widely as possible the resolutions and decisions of this session and to ensure the broadest possible participation of the working masses in the shops and factories, negro workers, the women and youth, in the election of representative delegations to the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

**XI. The central council of the Red International of Labor Unions calls upon all its adherents in the United States of America to conduct a determined struggle against any attempt to weaken the revolutionary unions, and to combat all those who for factional or any other reasons try to split the revolutionary unions and divert them from the central task of winning over the majority of the American working class for the overthrow of American capitalism.**

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In July 1934, the TUUL managed to organize a "united front from below" rebellion against the AFL leadership.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that he was recovering from an allegedly almost fatal heart attack, William Z. Foster decided to continue his recuperation in San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> His visit "happened" to coincide with the first great strike organized by the Communists. According to Foster's own admission, he had enough presence of mind to keep his being in San Francisco unknown to the police.

A. G. Bosse, who made the following report to the Comintern headquarters in Moscow, later became a dissident Marxist.

#### EXHIBIT No. 63

[*Inprecorr*, August 10, 1934. Pp. 1107-1108]

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT—THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The general strike, which tied up San Francisco and the surrounding region for four days, was the greatest general strike ever organised in the United States. It involved nearly 150,000 workers in 175 unions, and completely paralysed the economic activities of a population of 1,300,000. It was broken by the combined fascist terror of the employers and government, and the treacherous sellout of the A. F. L. bureaucrats. This sympathetic strike was ended by a vote of 191 to 174, and when one realises by what trickery the reactionary union officials were brought into control of the General Strike Committee, one will see that a great majority of the men favoured continuing the general strike. As this is written, the strike of 30,000 longshoremen and marine workers, which began May 9, continues, as well as a sympathetic strike of street-car men. In Portland, Seattle, and other Pacific Coast ports, the maritime strike also continues, although a vote is being taken by Roosevelt's strike-breaking arbitration board, with indications that they will be able to smash the strike.

The vote to end the general strike was put through by methods so raw that even the hardened conservatives in the dockers' union were forced to protest. Delegates were juggled, registration and roll-call of delegates refused, etc.; those from small and unimportant unions not connected with the waterfront dominated. The general strike committee was hand-picked in the first place, its members being mainly union officials, and the locals being given no chance to meet and elect rank and file delegates. Yet the sentiment for a general strike had been so overwhelming that it was approved unanimously.

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 300-303; *Bryan to Stalin*, pp. 261-264. *Communist Activities in the United States*, a report to the President of the United States by William Green, president, the American Federation of Labor, reprinted from the Congressional Record, 73d Cong., 2d sess., 1934.

<sup>2</sup> William Z. Foster, *Pages From a Worker's Life*, New York, International Publishers, 1939, pp. 193-197.

Only the electrical workers and compositors refused to strike. The printers were threatened by the international head of their union with dire consequences if they went out, while the electricians' leader pleaded with them to think of the hospitals and fire-houses. The vice-president of the General Strike Committee sabotaged the move to bring out the Southern Pacific Railway workers. Vanderleur, who was head of the San Francisco Central Labour Council (combining all A. F. L. unions in the city) and chairman of the strike committee, immediately and arbitrarily appointed a committee of 25 to lead (and break) the strike.

Even before the general strike was called on July 16, the teamsters had refused to handle scab goods, the machinists and welders to work on ships with scab crews, and food workers, icemen, butchers, taxi chauffeurs, wholesale house employees, boiler makers, street-car men, etc. (a total of 14,000) had already struck. When the general strike was declared all workers came out, and the capitalist press summed up the situation as follows: "Emptied Streets Make San Francisco a Ghost City . . . Strike Leaders Show Power as City's Dictators" (N. Y. "Daily News," 7/17). Nineteen restaurants were allowed to remain open, and no means of transportation were available. The strike was so tight that even the U. S. Army had to get a strike committee permit to have the laundry washed for its troops. Nothing was done or moved without such permits, and nothing infuriated the employers so much as this. Standard Oil and other great corporations had to get permission to move a gallon of gasoline or a pound of ice.

The neighbouring towns of Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda were also paralysed. In Portland, Oregon, two days before the San Francisco general strike began, 83 out of 86 unions had voted for a general strike, but the A. F. L. top leaders and Roosevelt's mediators were able to hold them back; the maritime strike there, however, was complete. In Seattle the situation was the same.

Vanderleur began to betray the general strike by sending back to work the street-car men on the municipal line and allowing striking sheet metal workers to repair police cars—cars used to shoot down strikers. Over the heads of Harry Bridges and other leaders of the Joint Marine Strike Committee, the General Strike Committee allowed 50 more restaurants to open, under pressure of Roosevelt's arbitrators and the A. F. L. bureaucracy. After that the end came quickly.

An unprecedented terror, initiated by the employers and carried out by their hired gangsters, the police, and the National Guard (State militia), and a "red scare" propagated by the press and radio and local and federal authorities, gave the A. F. L. traitors their opportunity to drive a wedge between the conservative workers and the militants, on the ground that "public opinion" was against the strike and the radicals were fomenting civil war. Seven thousand soldiers of the militia, with tanks and artillery, occupied the waterfront. Over 13,000 federal troops and two warships with guns trained on the harbour were held in readiness. Gangsters from other cities, local legionnaires and employers' thugs, armed with gas bombs, shotguns and aeroplanes, raided all Communist and "Left" wing headquarters, arresting 600 and smashing the interiors of the buildings to bits.

The technique of this terror was one of military precision. So-called "vigilantes" (legionnaires, gangsters, detectives, and members

of the Mayor's Committee of 500 citizens, some with teamsters' union badges on them) raided and smashed up the headquarters of the "Left" wing Marine Workers' Industrial Union, the C. P., Western Worker (organ of the C. P. and spokesman for the maritime strikers, whose plant was burned to the ground), I. L. D., Workers' School, etc., under cover of militia machine-guns and bayonets. Following them in their course methodically came police to mop up and arrest those beaten by the vigilantes ("thugs disguised as workers"—N. Y. "Times"). This while the press and authorities claimed to be ignorant of the identity of the raiders calling them citizens rising in righteous indignation against the red menace.

Secretary of Labour Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's representative in Washington, was forced to say in answer to a query by the "Daily Worker" correspondent, that the strike had been absolutely peaceful until the strikers were attacked by the police. In the Milwaukee electrical workers' strike, some weeks previously, the press reported that the employers were planning to "urge police raids on Communist headquarters on the charge that Communist leaders were directing the strike." This was not done in Milwaukee, but it was worked in exactly that way in San Francisco. Even Johnson stated later: "The pressure from a small group of wealthy men (the industrialists and shipowners—B.) to declare martial law was perfectly terrific." (N. Y. "World Telegram," 7/19.) This is a picture of a government rapidly becoming fascised.

The purpose of the terror, and the slander preceding and accompanying it, was to enable the bosses and government to outlaw the C. P., to demoralise the general strike by spreading the idea that the raids emanated from the strikers and public, to separate the militant workers and leaders from the conservative element, and, above all, to smother the real aims and demands of the strikers in a smoke screen of hysteria and violence.

The chief of police stated that since May 9 four workers had been killed, 298 injured (of these 195 were scabs and bystanders and 32 police, and 650 were arrested, of whom 350 were held in 1,000 dollars bail each. Many are benignly sentenced to 30 days in jail. In all sections of California and up and down the Pacific Coast the same terror and raids were organised.

The background of the general strike is the longshoremen's strike that began May 9 in San Francisco and soon spread along the entire coast. The demands of the men were chiefly, control of hiring halls (where men were hired in rotation, as against the bosses' "fink" or scab halls, where graft and intimidation prevail and militants are weeded out); secondly, union recognition and the closed shop; thirdly, wage increases and improved conditions; and fourthly, the right to organise, strike and picket. The aim of this strike, and of the general strike, was to win these immediate demands, not, as the employers claimed, to seize political power and make a revolution.

For decades the San Francisco dockers had been working under a "Blue Book" union, i. e., an outright company union, but recognised by the Central Labour Council. At the end of 1932 the militants began agitating for a real union, though with difficulty since the C. P. Marine Workers' Industrial Union had no members actually working on the docks (all were jobless). By mid-1933 with, the wave of

organisation starting with the N. R. A., initiative groups began organising real unions and soon the bulk of the dockers on the West Coast were lined up. A rank and file conference met in February, which the reactionary A. F. L. officials controlled, but where militant sentiment was strong enough to put through much of its programme—the fakers had to talk radically to win control. It endorsed proposals for wage increases, cut in hours, union hiring halls, agreements expiring simultaneously all along the coast, against loading Nazi ships, a federation of dockers and seamen, unemployment insurance, against arbitration, etc.

Negotiations with the employers began on March 5 and dragged on till the workers forced a strike vote. Then the A. F. L. leaders got Roosevelt to appeal for arbitration, and the district union leaders at once called off the strike. Negotiations began again on March 28 and continued till the strike broke out. Sellout agreements galore were made by the A. F. L. misleaders and repudiated by the men. Even after the strike vote the A. F. L. and federal officials urged no strike. Two days after the strike began the entire coast was tied up.

The M. W. I. U. worked for a sympathetic strike of seamen, calling meetings of crews and delegate conferences, and soon most ships were out. The A. F. L. International Seamen's Union stood aside, expecting no strike, but the M. W. I. U. set up its own demands for the seamen and their strike became an independent one, not merely sympathetic. By the third week in May the ships' cooks, stewards, masters, pilots and marine engineers were out, and fraternisation with the truckmen resulted in their refusing to touch scab cargo.

The head of the I. L. A. came to San Francisco, after sending 1,000 New York dockers back to work defeated, and temporarily succeeded in sowing confusion, and passing a treacherous agreement. But on May 26 the men repudiated this. On May 28 the police attacked the picket lines and killed two workers.

The terror against the radical movement during the past year has been great; 7 workers were killed and 900 jailed. But within a few weeks after the strike began the press acknowledged Communist activity in the strike and began a new red scare. Yet the dockers kept the Western Worker as their spokesman, and the M. W. I. U. became part of the Joint Marine Strike Committee. A membership meeting rejected Ryan's attack on the C. P. and voted to "apologise to the C. P. because the sale of the Western Worker was stopped" by unauthorised members. Soon after, Ryan was howled down at a mass meeting of 3,000 and had to beg for three minutes to state his case.

Bridges, who was called a Red and an alien in the capitalist press, had all his proposals accepted, especially that for a rank and file negotiations committee (the weak spot before had been to leave negotiations in the hands of the misleaders). The dockers issued a call for a general strike, and unions began answering it over the heads of the Central Labour Council leaders. A mass meeting on June 19 of 18,000, called by all striking unions, endorsed it, again refused Ryan the floor, and supported the militants.

On July 5 the Industrial Association (employers' group) tried to rush scab trucks through the line of 2,000 pickets, and the police murdered two pickets and wounded many. Till the police were put

on the docks even Perkins admitted that the "pickets maintained order and the docks were well policed." The funeral demonstration and parade for the victims (one a Communist food worker, the other an A. F. L. docker) was the greatest labour outpouring in the city's history, over 100,000 participating, with not a policeman in sight. A wave of hysteria followed, the troops being called and ordered to shoot to kill. By now 30,000 strikers were out and the strike was completely effective everywhere along the coast except in Los Angeles, where some scabs were recruited. Ten days later the general strike was declared.

The Party held many open and closed meetings on the strike, and the city was covered by its leaflets and newspapers. It issued a bulletin and leaflets to the troops, which had some influence in bringing about instances of refusal to attack the strikers. In mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country it mobilised support for the strike. The workers influenced by the Party and red unions were instrumental in bringing about the general strike, and remain the vanguard of the maritime strike. On the other hand, the strike shows the weakness of opposition work in the A. F. L. unions.

The San Francisco, Toledo, and Milwaukee strikes show that to-day in the U. S. the class struggle is flaring into open battles, that an attack on one section of the workers is coming to be regarded as an attack upon all. Strikes of one union are tending to become general strikes; a few hundred workers striking draw tens of thousands into picketing and street fights against the police and troops. The issues are rapidly changed from economic ones to political struggles (though hardly regarded as such by the workers as yet) against the State power of the capitalists. Growing bitterness against N. R. A. strike-breaking and terror and its company unionisation programme are leading to disillusionment of the masses and exposure of the government as the capitalists' organ of suppression.

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, dual unionism was officially prohibited. This meant that the CPUSA had to revive the infiltration tactics which had proved unsuccessful during the 1921-28 period. After 1935, however, several factors favored the strategy of united front from above.

In the first place, the Seventh World Congress permitted soft pedaling of the full Communist program. As Dimitrov carefully explained, comrades were to put up with all kinds of bourgeois nonsense provided that the involved non-Communists would cooperate in the fight against Hitler (see. C, exhibit No. 14). Secondly, the CIO needed, or believed that it needed, more organizers of the industrial union type than could be found outside the ranks of the CPUSA.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, John L. Lewis was convinced that, after he had used the comrades, he could easily get rid of them. One of his favorite comments at the time was: "Who gets the bird—the hunter or the dog?"<sup>2</sup>

In the assumption that Communists could be exploited as means toward achieving desirable objectives, John L. Lewis and other CIO leaders were not unique. Various professional groups later found to their dismay that Communist interest in partial reforms was, as Dimitrov had warned, for the time being only.

It must also be remembered that only a minority of CIO unions were successfully infiltrated or controlled by the Communists.<sup>3</sup> After striving for more than

<sup>1</sup> Taft, *Structure of Labor Unions*, pp. 16-18. Budenz, *Men without Faces*, pp. 60-61. Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 349-351.

<sup>2</sup> Lyons, *Red Decade*, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Stolberg, *The Story of the CIO*, New York, Viking, 1938, pp. 145-155. Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 169-170, 202, 251. See also numerous hearings held by the House Labor Committee, House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Labor Committee, and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.



a decade to reform certain Communist controlled internationals, the national office of the CIO formally expelled nine of them.<sup>4</sup>

On the day before the Nazi forces invaded the Ukraine, Communist elements inside certain CIO unions were accusing Philip Murray of being as bad a strike-breaker as President Roosevelt, because both of the latter insisted upon resumption of work on national defense projects (this section, exhibit No. 44). After June 22, 1941, however, the Communist controlled unions gave no trouble at all until the U. S. S. R. was out of danger.<sup>5</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 64

[*The Communist International*, May 1936. Pp. 624-625, 628-630]

### THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BLOC IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

By William Z. Foster

During the past several months, there has taken shape in the American Federation of Labor a new and powerful progressive opposition movement. It is being built around the issue of the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions in the trustified, mass production industries. The new movement consists of a bloc of eight American Federation of Labor unions, formally organized into a national body called the Committee for Industrial Organization (C. I. O.). The component unions are the Coal Miners, Textile Workers, Printers, Oil Workers, Metal Miners and three Needle Trades Unions. Altogether, they number 1,100,000 members, or approximately one-third of the whole American Federation of Labor. The leader of the C. I. O. is John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America. The movement carries with it the possibility of profound progressive changes in the structure, leadership and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The C. I. O. was formed shortly after the adjournment of the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in Atlantic City in October, 1935, although the movement had been already developing for two years. This Convention was the scene of a very bitter struggle between the industrial union forces, led by Lewis, and the craft union supporters, led by William Green and the majority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The struggle turned around the question of unionizing the almost totally unorganized workers in the steel, automobile, chemical, rubber and other mass production industries, and was concretized in the demand that in these industries the American Federation of Labor give up its antiquated system of trying to organize the workers into many autonomous craft unions (a dozen or more to each industry) and give the jurisdiction in each case to one industrial union. In support of their demand, the Lewis forces pointed out the complete failure of the traditional system of craft organization in these industries where old trade lines have long since been obliterated by mechanization and specialization of labor, and where the growth of the trusts has made absolutely necessary the unity of all the workers in a given industry.

<sup>4</sup> A full account of these expulsions can be found in *Communist Domination of Certain Unions*, Report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations, U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 1st sess., October 1, 1951. See also Taft, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-31.

<sup>5</sup> *Colonization of America's Basic Industries*, Committee on Un-American Activities, September 3, 1954, pp. 4-5.

In reply, president Green of the A. F. of L. and the other craft union leaders (ultra-reactionaries of the stripe of Woll, Hutcheson, Wharton, Frey, Tobin, etc.) repeated all the time-worn shibboleths of the skilled workers' craft unions, but they depended primarily upon their organizational control of the Convention (the delegation of which was made up chiefly of top union leaders) to beat down the industrial union opposition. What the craftists lacked in arguments, they made up in slander and intimidation. So acute became the convention struggle that John L. Lewis, head of the Miners' Union, and William Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' Union, came to blows. The Convention finally rejected the resolution of the industrial unionists by a vote of 18,000 to 11,000.

Shortly after this Convention, the industrial unionists organized themselves nationally into the Committee for Industrial Organization. This Committee has established a national headquarters and is publishing a journal and various pamphlets advocating its program. The A. F. of L. Executive Council met the formation of the C.I.O. with a denunciation that it is a dual union movement and a rival national trade union center, and made a demand for its immediate dissolution.

#### THE MASS BASE OF THE C. I. O.

The formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization is one of the many expressions of the deep-going radicalization that has been taking place among the American working class under the fierce blows of the deep and prolonged economic crisis. Long-continued mass unemployment, hunger and government brutality are rapidly destroying the American workers' traditional capitalist illusions, and they are turning to militant mass action for relief from their intolerable situation.

Besides the C.I.O., there have been many other significant manifestations of the masses' growing discontent and their mood for struggle. Prominent among these, during the past four years, were the whole series of big struggles and demonstrations of the unemployed; the great and continued strike wave, including such historic battles as the San Francisco general strike the national strike of 500,000 textile workers, etc., and various other militant mass movements among the war veterans, farmers, youth, Negroes, as well as a huge growth of antifascist and anti-war sentiment. Another, and one of the most significant signs of the workers' political awakening, is the present rapid growth of mass demand for a national Farmer-Labor Party, accompanied by the actual formation of many city and state Farmer-Labor Parties. In all these struggles and Left developments, the Communist Party has played a large and growing role. It is in the forefront of every battle of the toiling masses, and its widespread activities have been an important factor in creating the broad base upon which the C.I.O. movement is built.

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#### THE LEADERSHIP OF THE C. I. O.

The outstanding figure in the Committee for Industrial Organization is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers. Lewis is a clever, strong, aggressive and opportunistic leader. Hitherto, in

his twenty years of top leadership, he has been completely identified with the extreme Right wing of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. He is an open defender of the capitalist system. For many years he was a member of the National Committee of the Republican Party and was allied with various other capitalist organizations. He pursued a typical A. F. of L. policy of class-collaboration, controlling his union with an iron hand, and brooking no opposition. He expelled hundreds of Communists and progressives from the U. M. W. A., and, thus, from their jobs in the coal industry. Lewis is a man of boundless ambition and, if he succeeds in his present fight against the A. F. of L. Executive Council, he can readily become president of the A. F. of L. And if Roosevelt, whom Lewis is ardently supporting, wins in the coming elections, Lewis will doubtless have a high government post offered him.

Next to Lewis in importance in the C. I. O. movement is Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Hillman is also a shrewd and ambitious leader. He is a past master of the use of Left phrases and opportunistic maneuvering. He has visited the U. S. S. R. a couple of times and his union formerly gave active support to the reconstruction of the Russian clothing industry. At present, Hillman, like the other C. I. O. leaders, is working closely with the Roosevelt administration. Associated with Hillman are the leaders of the two affiliated Socialist needle trades unions—Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and Zaritsky, head of the Cap and Millinery Workers.

Another outstanding figure in the C. I. O. is Francis Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers. Gorman led the recent national strike of 500,000 textile workers. He has lately developed a strong progressive turn and is now going about the country advocating the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, a militant struggle against the growing fascist and war danger, etc. Howard, president of the Typographical Union, whose progressivism is very limited, was originally elected to his post a dozen years ago in opposition to the A. F. of L. machine candidate, Lynch.

Lewis' active representative in the C. I. O. is John Brophy, formerly a U. M. W. A. district official, and one-time opponent of Lewis. Brophy in 1926, with the active support of the Communist Party, ran as an opposition candidate against Lewis in the union elections on a joint Left-wing progressive ticket. The election was fiercely contested. Lewis' officials counted the ballots and declared Lewis elected; but the Left wing asserted that they had manipulated some 100,000 votes in order to defeat Brophy. Brophy, long an advocate of the Labor Party, headed a delegation to the Soviet Union a few years ago.

#### THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party supports the constructive work of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Communist Party has for many years been the champion of industrial unionism and the organization of the unorganized, the two chief planks of the new movement. The Party sees in the C. I. O. a movement containing great possibilities for strengthening the economic and political organization of the American working class and it seeks to develop these potentialities to the fullest. The Communist Party has no formal united front with

the C. I. O. leaders, but it sets up working relations with supporters of the C. I. O. throughout the trade union movement and among the unorganized workers.

Concretely, our Party joins in the C. I. O. organization campaigns, giving them leadership and support on the job where the actual organizing work is being done and it also carries on a campaign in favor of industrial unionism throughout the trade unions. But, of course, the Communist Party goes beyond these elementary issues, important though they are. It cannot become merely a tail to the C. I. O. The Party strives to give a class struggle policy to the C. I. O. movement; it stresses the need for trade union democracy, for the organization of a national Farmer-Labor Party, for unemployment insurance, for the equal rights of Negroes in the unions and elsewhere, against the A. F. of L. Executive Council's expulsion policy, against fascism and war, etc. In short, the Party strives to politicalize the C. I. O. movement, to strengthen it into a broad Left movement that will rid the A. F. of L. of its reactionary, class collaboration economic and political policies and make of it a real fighting weapon of the working class, to develop it in the general direction of struggle against capital and a united people's front against fascism and war.

But in supporting the work of the C.I.O. our Party also necessarily carries on a constructive criticism of the shortcomings of the C.I.O. officialdom and policies. Not alone have the C.I.O. leaders highly opportunistic pasts, but there are also many serious weaknesses in their present activities.

Among these weaknesses are their tendency to make a fetish of the form of industrial unionism instead of also stressing the need for a class struggle policy for the unions, their suppression of trade union democracy in C.I.O. unions, their slowness at undertaking energetically the actual organization of the unorganized; their inadequate fight in the lower organs of the trade unions against the Executive Council, their restriction of the question of industrial unionism simply to the mass production industries instead of raising it as a question for the whole A. F. of L.; their refusal to give active support to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, their still hesitant and unclear fight against the menacing dangers of fascism and war, their clinging to traditional A. F. of L. class collaboration practices, etc.

Lewis and other C.I.O. leaders have gained great prestige among the masses through the new movement; they have in their unions huge financial resources at their disposal; and they themselves have a strong opportunistic bent; hence only if the Communist Party carries on a constructive criticism of the C.I.O. leaders, only if the Party applies itself diligently to actual organization work in the trade unions and among the unorganized and builds up a strong, educated rank and file, can the C.I.O. movement be steered away from the dangerous sands of opportunism and enabled to realize its full progressive and revolutionary possibilities.

Some mistakes have been made by the Party in the application of its line. Thus, in a number of instances articles in the Daily Worker incorrectly evaluated Lewis, ranging from uncritical praise of him to sectarian denunciation. There has also been a failure to take full advantage of the present opportunity to organize the Left forces in the lower trade union organs and among the unorganized. But such mistakes and deficiencies are being eliminated and a correct Party policy is developing towards the very important C.I.O. movement.

The United Automobile Workers (UAW) was one of the CIO internationals in which the comrades for a long time stirred up no end of trouble and dissension. Part of the story has been told by a former Communist organizer.<sup>1</sup> In time, Walter Reuther reclaimed the UAW from its Communist incubus.<sup>2</sup> But, even as late as 1954, he was still having trouble with some well-entrenched Communist enclaves.<sup>3</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 65

[*World News and Views*, March 25, 1939. P. 309]

## THE STRUGGLE IN THE AUTO WORKERS' UNION

By George Morris (New York)

The unity that was achieved in the United Automobile Workers of the C. I. O., of 400,000 members, last November, brought together the honest elements in the organisation upon a programme of loyalty to the principles of the C. I. O. and for an immediate drive to complete organisation of the industry, especially open-shop Ford.

But *Homer Martin*, who was then still general president and his four out of the 24 members on the general executive board, acquiesced to this unity in words only. They needed several more weeks for their plan, already negotiated with Ford representatives, to suddenly take the union out of the C. I. O., turn it into a company instrument and into a spearhead for a serious blow against the C. I. O. The wreckers had gone far towards executing their plan when it was discovered and thwarted in the nick of time by the general executive board of the U. A. W.

Following the wave of strikes in 1936-37, which within several months brought all auto manufacturers, except Ford, under contracts with the U. A. W., the employers lost no time to apply their "internal" strategy. Answering their prayer, the Lovestonites transplanted several of their number from New York to Detroit. People who had never seen the inside of an auto factory or a meeting of the auto union, were suddenly embraced by Martin and appointed to key executive positions in the union. Protests from members against this sudden injection of strangers with mysterious backgrounds, were met with ruthless threat of expulsion by Martin. A union which was born out of a struggle against a dictatorial rule in the American Federation of Labour found itself in the grip of an even worse dictatorship.

Martin, who by accident came to the presidency in a period of compromise, when the union was shedding the old reactionary shell revealed himself as the reserve force that the manufacturers have been counting upon. Soon Martin added to his staff all the former outcasts who were removed for connection with anti-union spies and the secret terrorist Black Legion, a hooded order which had murdered many automobile workers for union or "radical" connections. Suddenly this man, who came to the presidency on a promise to observe rights for all, irrespective of political opinion, opened an attack upon what he termed "Communists," but in practice against all who hold progressive ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Clayton W. Fountain, *Union Guy*, New York, Viking, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 203-207.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report for the Year 1954*. Committee on Un-American Activities, Jan. 26, 1955, pp. 14-17.

Martin's union staff was soon a cesspool of Lovestonites, Trotskyites, Black Legion members, Trotskyites in the Socialist Party, agents of former company unions and followers of the fascist radio priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Today, Martin has at last openly split from the C. I. O., but he is without the union and has little following. First suspicion that Martin was planning a coup, came when it was learned that he is holding conferences with Harry Bennett, head of the police department (factory guard and police) of the Ford Motor Company. As details leaked out, the general secretary-treasurer of the union called a special meeting of the general executive board. !

Before the board, Martin admitted that he was negotiating, but refused to divulge details. However, officials of the Ford local of the union who Martin thought followed him and who accompanied him to a number of the conferences, gave the details. The Ford Company promised Martin an "agreement" provided the union is drawn out of the C. I. O. Martin was to be the sole bargaining representative for the union. Bennett agreed to furnish Martin the list of all workers in the plant for signing up in the union, and 600 workers dismissed for union activity would be reinstated, providing they pledge allegiance to Martin and sign statements against "Communism."

The meaning of the "generosity" of the Ford Company can be understood from the fact that the Labour Board has ordered Ford to reinstate the 600 workers with back wages, and to bargain with the U. A. W. The decision now before the Supreme Court is certain to be approved, and Ford would have no other recourse but to comply, anyway. Ford was also ordered to dissolve his company organisation, the "Liberty Legion." As the company is certain that it would have to comply, it therefore hit upon the idea of turning the U. A. W. Ford local into a company organisation. The "Liberty Legion" was declared liquidated by the company, and testimony before the U. A. W. executive board brought out that the membership of the Liberty Legion was to be transferred to the U. A. W. local. The collective bargaining relations for the 86,000 workers of the company were to be henceforth taken care of between Martin and Bennett.

When it is further taken into account that Bennett has been the organiser of the last year's much publicised beating of union workers, when they attempted to distribute leaflets at the plant; that he has been the head of a Ku Klux Klan unit and has always been the symbol of the spying and ruthless anti-union methods for which Ford is well known, then the set-up is complete.

But the plan did not go into effect. The executive board of the union took steps to strip Martin of all power, took away from him the union paper which he supervised, removed from office several of his appointed disrupters and reinstated many officials of local unions whom he had removed. Seeing his end, with a convention set for March 20, at Cleveland, Martin was forced to play an open hand.

He suddenly announced that he "suspends" all officers and 15 of the 24 members of the executive board. At the same time he announced that he is calling a convention on March 4. This was followed by his "resignation" from the C. I. O. executive council and an attack upon John L. Lewis, its president, as a "dictator." He organised a squad of gangsters who suddenly made a night raid upon the general headquarters of the union and took it by force.

Meanwhile the executive committee of the union, still in session, voted to suspend Martin and the four executive members who support him.

The reactionary majority on the executive council of the A. F. of L., of course, plays a part in the situation by its steady encouragement to split-off groups and the promise of a charter.

But the really interesting feature in the situation is that the U. A. W. has survived the repeated attacks and remains united under the C. I. O. banner. It is further testimony to the strong roots of the C. I. O. in the newly organised industries and assurance that no power can destroy it.

Communists abroad gave wide publicity to strikes led by a minority of CIO locals during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Needless to say, these foreign propagandists did not mention the fact that the rebellious CIO groups were more successful in their work stoppage tactics than were Nazi sympathizers employed in the same plants.<sup>1</sup> Two months before Pearl Harbor, however, they were screaming against all and sundry "appeasers" (this section, exhibits Nos. 44 and 64).

#### EXHIBIT No. 66

[*World News and Views*, April 19, 1941. P. 250]

#### C. I. O. HEADS STRIKE WAVE

A big strike wave has been sweeping the key industries of the United States. Three main reasons for these actions are: to win wage increases, to strengthen union organisation, and to counter-attack employers who are exploiting the situation to attack the conditions and rights of their employees and to violate the National Labour Relations Act.

The employers, with Henry Ford and the big steel combines at their head, are backed by the full resources of the Roosevelt Administration.

Simultaneously, on the personal initiative of President Roosevelt, an anti-Communist campaign is being whipped up. In his Jackson Day speech on March 29, Roosevelt set the campaign going with an allegation that "Communist influence is at the back of many strikes." Later, at one of his daily press conferences, in response to a question whether he believed that the strike at the Allis Chalmers turbine factory, Milwaukee, was "Communist-inspired," Mr. Roosevelt answered "Yes."

One of the biggest strikes is that of 400,000 soft coal miners in the Appalachian area and the Illinois, Indiana, and Alabama coalfields, following refusal by the coalowners to agree to demands on wages and working conditions put forward by the C. I. O. United Mine-workers of America, the most powerful union in the country.

Another is that of 81,000 workers in the main, River Rouge, plant of the Ford Motor Company at Dearborn. Here, too, a C. I. O. union—the United Automobile Workers' Union—is leading the strike.

*This strike—the first in the Ford Company's existence—is an event of great importance, for it marks labour's storming*

<sup>1</sup> *Executive Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, Vol. 4, October 2, 1939–November 8, 1950.

*of the last auto firm not organized and the stronghold of the most powerful labour baiter and fascist in the country.*

It developed after months of intense organising work, financed jointly by the United Mineworkers and the Automobile Union.

The actual strike itself was precipitated by the dismissal of several trade unionists. The morning after it was called a picket line of many thousands closed the entire 12,000 acre plant. Police mobilised especially against the men were unable to smash the line although many strikers were injured.

An attempt by Ford to split the strike by trying to get Negro workers to blackleg was also defeated.

Here the reactionary American Federation of Labour, which is linked with the British T. U. C. in the International Federation of Trade Unions, has also attempted to break the strike. It telegraphed to the Governor of the State

"demanding that he should clear the streets around the River Rouge plant so that they could return to work." (*The Times*, April 4.)

Ford also countered by threatening to close all his 16 assembly plants and locking out the men—thus bringing the total number of men affected to more than 100,000.

Seven thousand eight hundred workers were involved in the strike at the Allis Chalmers plant.

After the strike had been on for nine weeks and after the employers had stubbornly refused to accept a settlement proposed by the Government, on March 26, Navy Secretary, Colonel Knox, and War Production Manager, William Knudsen, wired the president of the local C. I. O. Auto Workers' Union ordering him to call off the strike after which negotiations could be started. The union leader replied that the strike would go on until the union voted to end it. A mass picket line of thousands was then formed. There followed violent police attacks on the pickets 48 people being injured.

Even the New York Correspondent of *The Times* has admitted: "C. I. O. pickets . . . were repulsed by the police last night and today with an armoured car which they drove into the crowds that had gathered at the gates of the works. Last night the police used tear-bombs." (*Times*, April 2.)

Another series of significant strikes was three which took place in the Lackawanna, Bethlehem and Johnstown plants of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, involving a total of 45,000 men.

The strikes, taking place several days apart, broke out suddenly with an effectiveness that surprised the company, which was forced to grant its 90,000 employees a 10 cent an hour wage increase and other important concessions.

A bitterly fought strike that has just ended involved 15,000 workers in the International Harvester Combine plants, principally in Chicago. Here, too, there were violent attacks by the police on the strikers. The walk-out was ended when the Combine agreed to mediation on the union's terms.

A further recent labour victory was achieved by the strike of 35,000 New York busmen in the Transport Worker's Union, which is led by the militant Irish trade union leader Michael Quinn.

Our New York Correspondent writes:

"In almost all these strikes the American Federation of Labour leaders have completely sold out to the imperialists of Wall Street



and are betraying the interests even of their own members. They have organised strike breaking against the C. I. O. and flagrantly formed parades of blacklegs to enter the closed plants under police escort. Virtually every strike is met with the hysterical how that it is 'Communist-inspired' and 'threatens national defence.' Significantly, however, such talk does not discourage the workers from striking. And in almost all instances their leaders refuse to recognize that national defence must involve the sacrifice of their elementary rights. Every situation shows the stubborn refusal of the employers to grant even small concessions, although their profits are the highest recorded."

Working overtime on the employers' behalf is the new Federal Mediation Board as well as William Knudsen, director-general office of Production Management.

John L. Lewis, president of the C. I. O. miners, has stated on the activities of the former.

"We are not going to follow the new formula the Mediation Board has discovered of wiring strikers to go back, bust their strikes, then have them come back to Washington to mediate."

At a mass meeting of 5,000 members of the United Auto Workers' Union, employed at the Allis Chalmers plant, a resolution was unanimously adopted condemning Colonel Knox, the Navy Secretary, and Mr. Knudsen, the Director-General of Production Management, for "their conspiracy with company officials to try and force Government-sponsored back-to-work movement with all the high-handed tactics used by Mr. Knudsen as head of the General Motors Corporation in 1937 to wreck the workers' union."

#### EXHIBIT No. 67

[*World News and Views*, October 4, 1941. P. 639]

#### APPEASERS DON'T REPRESENT AMERICA

By a Correspondent

For many months before June 22 reactionary groups had been playing up the Communist and Bolshevik bogies and had achieved some success, such as the banning of the Communist Party from elections in certain states and the imprisonment of Earl Browder. Many newspapers were plugging the "Communist-Nazi-no-difference" line. To such as these the attack on the Soviet Union came as a shock.

At first the change in attitude was slow, even in trade union circles. But the march of events, the resistance of the Soviet forces; and the realisation that the Nazis are really out for world domination, including domination of the United States and Latin America, has steadily brought about a change which is now becoming clear.

#### THE TIDE TURNING

Summing up the situation at the end of August, the *Daily Worker* wrote: "The tide is turning. The arrogance of the Vichy men and Fifth Columnists have revealed the danger. Within the past few days there have been such developments against Hitlerism as the New York State A. F. of L. position for all out struggle; the support

of the New York C. I. O. Council for the Madison Square Garden anti-Hitler rally addressed by Admiral Bird and Supreme Court Justice Robert; the anti-Hitler speeches at the Knights of Columbus Convention . . . and similar action. These are belated beginnings, but they show the trend. . . . The working people of the country now need to speed the movement for national unity of all anti-Hitler forces, with a definite programme of action based on crushing Hitlerism."

This list must be supplemented by similar calls for support for Britain, the U. S. S. R. and China from the Vermont State Federation of Labour, the Wisconsin Federation of Labour, the powerful Wayne County (Detroit) C. I. O., representing 325,000 workers, the Iowa (Nebraska) C. I. O. and hundreds of smaller union branches and councils. The United Maritime Workers was the first of the great national unions to call for support to the Soviet Union, and though Lewis, of the mineworkers, ex-head of the C. I. O., some weeks ago put his name to an isolationist letter, also signed by Hoover and Landon, it is doubtful whether this represents a considered stand, or whether it has any support in his union.

#### ANTI-COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN

The anti-Communist campaign has not altogether abated. The ex-secretary of the Californian Communist Party, Sam D'Arcy, was recently sentenced to a long term of imprisonment on the charge that he had given a wrong birth-place when registering for the 1935 elections. At New York College, three teachers were dismissed at the end of August, after a trial, on the grounds that they were members of the Communist Party.

But many of these anti-Communist campaigners are getting into difficulties. At the congress of the United Automobile Workers, in the first week of August the elected delegates from the Allis Chalmers plant were unseated on the ground of irregular election, but really because the delegation head and others were Communists. During the six-day congress, the union sent delegates to supervise new elections, with the result that the whole original delegation was returned with an even greater majority.

#### THE GROWTH OF THE UNIONS

The growth of the United Automobile Workers is typical of the great progress that has been made by U.S. unions in the past year. In April, 1940, the membership was 263,000; in April, 1941, it was 458,000, just under twice as large, while the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (C.I.O.) reports a 58 per cent increase in membership in the last year. As Labour Board elections are being held in plant after plant, so the C.I.O. unions are gaining in strength, and labour is growing in strength and influence throughout the land. This is one of the chief reasons for the hostility of some employers to trade unions' demands about pay and conditions. They hope that by compelling the men to strike they can secure popular support for anti-trade union legislation. Fortunately the unions are well aware of this and President Murray of the C.I.O. has presented a plan to Roosevelt for joint men and management boards to make industry more efficient and speed the settlement of disputes. The C.I.O.

has also officially presented plans for new arrangements in the supremely important aluminium industry "to speed output so as to aid Britain, U.S.S.R. and China."

#### THE NEED FOR MORE ACTION

Much, however, still remains to be done to consolidate U.S. opinion behind the world front of peoples against Hitler. It is good news that the C.I.O. may soon make an official pro-Ally statement. It is good news that the progressive anti-Hitler *P.M.*, whose publisher, Ralph Ingersoll, has just been on a visit to Moscow, is to fight the isolationists of Chicago in their own territory. And especially is it good news that the Roosevelt administration is taking a steadily stronger line against the dark forces of Nazi-Fascism.

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In 1944, Soviet labor commissars began to make plans for a worldwide organization which in 1945 came to be known as the World Federation of Trade Unions (this section, exhibit No. 22). As exhibit No. 68 makes clear, the UMW and the AFL did not trust the WFTU. Perhaps because the CIO was at the time a rival organization, it decided to take a chance upon the expectation that the postwar era would bring about a change of heart in the Kremlin leaders.<sup>1</sup> Participation in the WFTU brought many headaches to the CIO. When in 1948 the WFTU refused to support the Marshall plan, the CIO realized that there was no hope of peaceful coexistence in an organization in which Soviet labor commissars participated (this section, exhibit No. 64).<sup>2</sup> Whereupon class warfare was openly declared against the "decadent bourgeois" CIO, which was adjudged to be as reactionary as the AFL.<sup>3</sup> In Foster's opinion, Philip Murray, Walter Reuther, James Carey, Joseph Curran, Emil Rieve, and other CIO leaders had become as "degenerate" as President Truman.

#### EXHIBIT No. 68

[*World News and Views*, April 29, 1944. P. 142]

#### WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The United Mineworkers' Union of America, of which John L. Lewis is the President, has informed Sir Walter Citrine that the union's executive board has voted against taking part in the World Trade Union Congress. No reasons are given. This report follows the earlier news already given that the American Federation of Labour has refused the invitation to the Congress. Within the A. F. L., however, there is a growing resentment against the official reactionary leadership and an increasing demand to be represented at the Congress. A fuller survey of the A. F. L. situation will be given next time.

It is worth while noticing that a recent report of the Government's National Labour Relations Board, presented to Congress, showed that the C. I. O. Unions received almost twice as many votes as the A. F. L. in collective bargaining elections during 1943. The C. I. O. won 1,776 out of 2,350 elections in which they took part, and polled a total of 515,271 votes, while the A. F. L. won 1,398 out of 2,018 elections and polled 267,118 votes.

<sup>1</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 467-468. Taft, *Structure of Labor Unions*, pp. 10-20.

<sup>2</sup> Budenz, *Men Without Faces*, pp. 180-182. George B. DeHuszar (Northwestern University) and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, New York, Crowell, 1935, pp. 317-318.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 464-606.

## AMERICAN LABOUR PARTY

The newly-elected New York State Committee of the American Labour Party had its first meeting on April 9th and elected Sidney Hillman, President of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee as their Chairman. They further called on President Roosevelt to run again for a fourth term, and backed Vice-President Henry Wallace for re-election. Other elected officials included 18 vice-chairmen, amongst whom are representative figures such as Joseph Curran, leader of the National Maritime Union; Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers; Charles Fay, Vice-President of the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers; Harry Chapman, Assistant Manager of the Railway Clerks, an A. F. L. union, was elected secretary; and Hyman Blumberg, the Vice-President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Ben Fielding, New York C. I. O. Research Director, were elected assistant secretaries. With such inspiring backing and leadership, it is expected the membership in New York State alone, formerly 200,000, will jump to over 600,000 within a few weeks. The American Labour Party will be playing a greater part than hitherto in American political life.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The primary elections continue; for the Democratic Party there is no opponent to President Roosevelt, who, it should be remembered, has not yet indicated his own intentions of standing or not standing for a "fourth term." There are several rivals for the Republican candidature, and Willkie's withdrawal is too recent for its effects to be felt. General MacArthur has publicly stated: "I can only say that I have not sought office, nor do I seek it," but he still figures as a possible candidate, as does Governor Dewey, whose own official position is that he is not running. Lieutenant-Commander Stassen showed twice as many votes in the Nebraska primary election on April 12, when he polled 33,404 votes to Dewey's 15,193.

## EXHIBIT No. 69

[*World News and Views*, October 28, 1944. P. 352]

## RECENT TRADE UNION NEWS

## WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

The Report of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee presented to the Trades Union Congress meeting in Blackpool last week included the important resolution on the World Trade Union Conference, which it is now proposed to hold around January 8, 1945. Prior to the Conference, there is to be a Preparatory Committee "for the purpose of considering the procedure of the Conference" and invitations to this Committee are to go to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., the British Trades Union Congress, and the American Trade Unions. In the report itself the view is expressed that the American representation on the Preparatory Committee—which should take place in London around December 4—should be on the basis of two representatives of the A.F.L., two from the C.I.O. and one from the Railroad Brotherhoods. Here is a tremendous

chance for all the American unions to come together for the building of the new Trade Union International.

The C.I.O. has already accepted the invitation to the World Trade Union Conference; so far the A.F.L. has been adamant in its refusal to participate if the Soviet Trade Unions are present.

#### MOVES TOWARDS C. I. O.-A. F. L. UNITY

Signs are not lacking that the rank and file of the A. F. L. as well as certain of its leaders realise the dangers that the present official attitude is leading to. Some time ago it was reported in these columns that Daniel Tobin, a vice-president of the A. F. L., had gone on record for a merger between the A. F. L. and C. I. O. in the interests of labour unity. He has subsequently stated that he would co-operate with the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in his work as Chairman of the Labour division of the Democratic national campaign committee. Tobin is supported by nearly all the rank and file of the A. F. L. in his stand against Dewey and for the re-election of Roosevelt. For example, the Connecticut State A. F. L. endorsed Roosevelt along with the majority of other State federations of the A. F. L. The Philadelphia Central Labour Union, affiliated to the A. F. L. with 260,000 members, not only endorsed Roosevelt, but has authorised close working relations with the C. I. O. on all problems facing labour. Of 60 A. F. L. journals, with a total circularisation of 2,867,480, not less than 47 are actively supporting President Roosevelt and have abandoned the traditional "non-partisan political policy" of the A. F. L., though their policy is the logical development of the just as traditional policy of "rewarding Labour's friends and punishing its enemies." Yet alongside this growing move towards unity, the official A. F. L. leadership reiterates that it will not attend any non-government meetings where C. I. O. spokesmen are present, although it still works on government boards and commissions where the C. I. O. is represented.

#### RECENT C. I. O. UNION ANNUAL CONVENTIONS

The C. I. O. Annual Convention will be held on November 20; meantime the separate unions have been holding their own. The C. I. O. has unanimously come out in favour of Roosevelt's re-election and every union convention has endorsed this stand. In September the United Automobile Workers' Union met. This is the largest C. I. O. union with 1,250,000 members. The convention reaffirmed the "no-strike" pledge of the U. A. W. for an indefinite period, called for a national production council to deal with the process of reconversion and to plan a detailed programme for post-war reconstruction and expansion. The U. A. W. called for post-war rehabilitation of the railways, highway construction, housing expansion, flood control, rural electrification, extension of foreign trade, a liberal tariff policy and greater facilities for health, education and social security.

The annual convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, with a membership of 150,000 also reaffirmed their no-strike pledge and launched a one-dollar per member fund drive for the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. Further, they sharply condemned ex-Ambassador Bullitt for his recent attack on the Soviet Union.

The 10th Annual Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the third largest C. I. O. union with 700,000 workers, also reaffirmed Labour's no-strike pledge by an overwhelming majority. They adopted their own policy for reconversion to peacetime employment in their industry. Franco was condemned, and assistance for the Spanish Republicans demanded. Early in October the announced convention of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers met in Atlantic City. This Union represents 450,000 workers. Resolutions passed by the Convention endorsed the no-strike pledge and the Roosevelt-Truman ticket for the Presidential Election. Other demands included a 30-hour week (as post-war policy), a guaranteed annual wage, legislation to ensure jobs to war veterans, the establishment of an international maritime body to set world labour conditions for the industry and to prevent monopoly control, and also for Government subsidies to increase the efficiency of the merchant fleet.

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When union leaders in heavy and consumer goods industries began to manifest no little skill in dealing with the problem of Communist infiltration, the party decided to try its tricks among white collar workers and professional groups. Because of their relative inexperience with matters connected with union organization, "middle class" employees were deemed to be more likely candidates for a new type of "Innocents Clubs."

The following exhibit discusses the extent of Communist progress in the American Newspaper Guild, the United Office and Professional Workers (UOPWA), and the Conference of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. After the war, the American Newspaper Guild undertook strenuous measures in order to destroy the menace of its Communist parasites.<sup>1</sup> And in 1949, the national office of the CIO expelled the UOPWA.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 70

[*World News and Views*, November 18, 1944. Pp. 372-373]

#### WHITE COLLARS IN THE UNITED STATES

As in this country, the organization of the professional and middle classes and the white collar worker into trade unions is still in its early stages. There are some twenty million salaried workers in the States who could be organized, but probably not more than two million are as yet, but the tempo of organization is increasing and the numbers coming into the unions are rapidly growing.

In addition, there have been a number of wartime developments through which the professional association have come into working agreements with several of the professional workers' unions of the C. I. O. Perhaps the two best known of these unions are the American Newspaper Guild and the United Office and Professional Workers of America, both C. I. O. unions.

Should you ever receive a business letter from the States, look at the end of it, and you may see in the lower left-hand corner a mysterious-looking symbol like "uopwa/16." This merely means that the girl who typed the letter is a member of the United Office and Professional Workers' Union, and belongs to "Local 16," or branch 16. U. O. P. W. A. was founded just before Christmas, 1936, and already has more than 50,000 members and held its fifth convention

<sup>1</sup> Budenz, *Men Without Faces*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Communist Domination of Certain Unions*, Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Relations, October 1, 1951, pp. 3-17.

in Philadelphia in September. Different sections cater for various groups, and apart from the office worker for whom standard contracts have been fixed and are negotiated with individual employers, perhaps the best organized section are the insurance workers. An example of their work comes from Massachusetts, where as a result of negotiations, the insurance agents of all companies received a total of about a million dollars of back commissions, as well as improved future conditions. Another example comes from the Curtiss-Wright Airplane Co. in Buffalo. Of 4,500 office, technical and engineering employees, the majority were recently organized. More than 3,200 received immediate pay increases as a result of new contracts and a new minimum of thirty dollars a week instead of the old twenty-two a week was fixed. Many other improvements in conditions were effected. The U. O. P. W. A. stands in the forefront even in the progressive C. I. O. for forward-looking policies and for its wartime record.

The Newspaper Guild recently held its Eleventh Annual Convention. Although one of the smallest of the C. I. O. unions, with 20,000 members, it is very much alive. Its general policy is in line with that of the larger C. I. O. industrial unions, the Convention endorsing, for example, the C. I. O. post-war programmes (which have been previously quoted in this column.) The Guild has seventy-nine locals (or branches) and they are pledged to considerable political activity in their own communities, activities which include house-to-house canvassing in the elections, campaigning and supporting war nurseries, and educational activities. The latest convention went on record for the establishment of a thirty-hour week.

*The National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, and the White Collar Fields* is a new development. After two conferences, the first in May, 1943, a permanent National Council has been formed to convene regular conferences and to co-ordinate the undertakings of the individual cooperating associations. The latter include the unions cited above, and other state and municipal workers' unions, and more than sixty professional associations of doctors, psychologists, social workers, lawyers, librarians, musicians, teachers, etc., etc. The scope of this new collaboration is best judged from the panel sessions of the conference, which covered full employment, standards of living, international collaboration of the professions in the post-war world and post-war readjustment and re-training for the professions. Their work continues.

WILBUR BLAKE.

## VI. YOUTH

In his *Problems of Leninism*, Stalin listed Youth Leagues as the fourth main group of mass organizations (sec. A, exhibit No. 13). The Young Communist International (YCI) was established in Berlin in November 1919 by the "opportunistic," Willi Muenzenberg (sec. D, exhibits No. 16 and 29).

Zam's report from the special committee meeting (Plenum) of the YCI was consistent with Comintern directives for a so-called milder period: Whenever Communists make concessions to capitalism, it is only for the time being. Without the concessions the comrades might find themselves isolated. But without an ultimate program for world revolution they would no longer be true Communists.

## EXHIBIT No. 71

*[Workers Monthly, June 1926, - Pp. 343-346]*

## THE PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By Herbert Zam

Herbert Zam, the Secretary of the Young Workers (Communist) League of America, was a delegate to the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. He has been elected to the Presidium of the Executive Committee, the first American in this position.

"The Communists are retreating." "The Communist International is gradually dropping its ideas of violent revolution." These are some of the expressions one can read in the Social-Democratic papers, and this is the theme of a good many of the speeches delivered at Socialist Congresses. It is precisely such expressions as these that show the utter incapability of the Social-Democratic leaders to comprehend the tactics of the class struggle, and their utter bankruptcy as leaders of the working class. To them, compromise with the enemies of the working class is the only form of strategy and every maneuver in the class struggle they interpret from this standpoint.

The Communists are neither retreating nor are they revising their principles. They are adapting their work to the conditions of the moment and it is precisely because they are performing this task well, that the Social-Democrats are in such a panic. The business of the Communists in every country is to lead the workers in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. This task assumes different forms in different countries and different periods.

During the present period it is the duty of the Communists to strengthen their organizations, to win a majority of the working class, to unify the ranks of the working class and to prepare it for the next decisive struggle. This the Communists have been doing, and every time they come together on an international scale to take store of their accomplishments, it is seen that great progress has been made and that the rate of progress is ever increasing. Viewed in this light, the last plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International marked a decisive forward step for the young workers of the world and prepared the way for an ever greater advance of the revolutionary youth.

## LEFT TENDENCIES AMONG THE YOUNG WORKERS

If, as a result of the partial stabilization of capitalism, it has been enabled to grant to some sections of the working class better conditions, the working youth did not share these better conditions. On the contrary, the conditions of the young workers in the capitalist countries is becoming ever more difficult, their wages are being reduced more and more, while at the same time they are being used more and more as a weapon of fighting the adult workers. In some countries, as in Germany, compulsory labor laws are even being introduced as a direct weapon against the young workers. The young workers are the worst sufferers from the chronic unemployment. As



a result of these attacks, a distinct leftward movement has begun among the young workers, both among those organized in the Social-Democratic and bourgeois youth organizations, and among the trade union and unorganized young workers. The sending of the youth delegations to Soviet Russia is only one indication of this left tendency. This pressure from the rank and file is so strong, that even religious organizations are beginning to take a favorable stand toward the workers' struggle as compared with their previous antiworking class attitude.

The left movement among the rank and file of the young workers has become so strong as to seriously threaten the hold of the bourgeois youth organizations and of the reformist trade union leaders. They were compelled to bend before the storm or be broken. And they bent. The reformist trade union officials began making special efforts to get the young workers into the trade unions, to issue special demands for the young workers and even to put up the front of fighting for their interests. The bourgeois youth organizations which had hitherto neglected entirely the interests of their members as young workers, which had hidden the class struggle and had tried to "mix" the young workers with the bourgeois youth, were compelled to include economic demands into their programs, and to assume a more sympathetic attitude toward the working class movement generally. Thus these measures, and as a result of the insufficient strength of the Young Communist Leagues, the reformist and bourgeois youth organizations have managed to keep within their ranks a large part of the working class youth.

#### THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES AND THE WORKING YOUTH

In this situation we find the Young Communist Leagues not yet in a position to utilize fully the objectively favorable conditions for increasing their influence upon the masses of the working class youth. Most of the Leagues had not yet learned how to approach the masses properly, how to make use of every opportunity to draw the young workers into their rank, and increase their contact with them, how to satisfy the needs of the young workers and so make the Communist youth organization an attractive place for them. This situation the plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I. discussed and in the solution of the problems which presented themselves marked an important step forward for the international Communist youth movement and for the young workers.

The Y. C. I. had before issued the slogans of going to the masses but in a majority of cases these instructions were not carried out or were carried out very poorly. Many of the Leagues accepted the directives mechanically, without regard for the particular conditions under which they were working. They tried to apply the decisions dogmatically. No better example can be given than the reorganization. The proper reorganization of the Leagues should result in an increase of membership and influence of the League. We find, however, that, as a result of the mechanical way in which many of the Leagues put the reorganization into effect, there was actually a loss of membership, and not a gain; that the work of the League was held up for long periods of time, and consequently, suffered greatly. The plenum established that the Leagues must display greater initiative

in the solution of their own problems and greater elasticity in carrying out the directives of the Y. C. I. The Y. C. I. is international in its outlook. It lays down the decisions for application on a world scale, taking into consideration the general world situation, and not the situation in a particular country. It is the duty of the Leagues in the various countries to properly apply the decisions in accordance with the conditions and the situation in their country. Only in this way, can a world youth League function, and only in this way can the Leagues develop as mass organizations.

#### MASS WORK

The plenum not merely criticized the work of the Leagues in the past. It laid down directives for the practical extension of the mass work of the Leagues. Only by obtaining contact with the young workers in every field of activity, only by participating in all these activities, can the Leagues win the leadership over the masses of the young workers. "Without for a moment forfeiting the task already set by the Second World Congress, of organizing the entire youth into our ranks, all Leagues of the Y. C. I. must devote the greatest attention to the so-called non-political organizations of the working youth (trade union youth sections, sport and cultural organizations, etc.) and set themselves to the serious task of capturing the leadership of these masses. We must make an end to the conception that regards these organizations as enemy units to be destroyed. These are the organizations that we must win and lead. Experience with the Jungsturm in Germany have proven that not only can we utilize similar organizations, but also that we can and must create, on our own initiative, such organizations for the winning and leading of the broad masses of the non-Party youth. The utilization of all possibilities of leading the working youth must in no way lead to the confusion of the role of the Communist youth as laid down by the Second and Third World Congresses. We must, however, relentlessly extirpate the hitherto prevailing fetishism in this field." This paragraph in the decision of the last plenum deserves to be memorized by every member of the Y. C. I. and adopted as the watchword by every League, and if the idea expressed here is grasped by the various Leagues and carried out in their actual, every-day work, then the transformation of these Leagues into mass organizations will be brought more than one step nearer completion.

#### INTERNAL LIFE

The plenum also dealt with the large fluctuation of membership in the Leagues, and the inability of a League to recruit membership in the same degree that it increases its political influence. In some countries, the League is the actual leader of the working youth and yet organizationally, it remains a small sect. The plenum established that "the chief reason for the fluctuation (and for the poor recruiting—H. Z.) is an insufficient, narrow, poor internal life of the League not commensurate with its political recruiting power and incapable of integrating the newly won members in the every-day work of the League. Our Leagues do not yet understand how to give the young workers everything or at least most of the things that they need. This must be changed decidedly." How can this be done? Surely

not by regarding every other activity except economic trade union work as something to be eliminated but by a proper union of such activities with our central task as an organization of struggle. "In certain Leagues, the initial efforts have been noticeable toward carrying out the decisions of the last Enlarged Executive with regard to supplementing our methods of work by means of greater satisfaction of the cultural needs of the young workers. This enrichment of working methods is to be welcomed. Despite the dangers which it brings with it (if its significance for the development of the League is overestimated, or if it is countered against the other battle methods of the Y. C. I.) it is and remains a vitally necessary complement to our methods for the winning and leading of the working youth. The formal schematic conception which hitherto predominated in our ranks and which stood hostile to all new forms of winning the masses must be energetically combated. Our Leagues are strong enough to try out and apply every method, every form of work on all fields of struggle in the fight for the youth, for their organization in our ranks, and for our leadership insofar as they are outside of our ranks. Every initiative in this field must be welcomed and carefully studied."

The other problems that confront the Y. C. I. and its various sections were also dealt with in the same manner, from the same standpoint, and the greater increase in activity, in membership and in influence will be the living proof of the correct solutions that the plenum made for these problems.

#### AMERICA AT THE PLENUM

For America, this plenum was especially important. It was important generally insofar as whatever has been said above of the necessity for broadening out the activities of the Leagues, for establishing a wider area of contact with the working youth and for developing more avenues of approach to them, for enriching the life of the League to make it possible to obtain and hold greater masses of young workers, applies with doubled emphasis to the American League, where we are only now fulfilling the first prerequisites for the development of a mass youth organization, where the great majority of the young workers are hostile to our program, aims and organization, and where the bourgeois organizations still hold almost undisputed sway. It was important, however, also for another reason. The present position of America as the ruling imperialist power of the world, and its increasing economic grip on the rest of the world, makes the Communist movement in this country of world importance, for it will have a tremendous role to play in the struggle against world imperialism. The Young Workers (Communist) League therefore received special attention at the plenum. The situation of the young workers in America was more thoroly gone into than ever before. The work of the League was critically examined, its tasks were taken up in a realistic manner, and the work outlined for it is more concrete, and more in harmony with the conditions in America than ever before.

#### TASKS OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

The Young Workers (Communist) League of America has some extremely difficult tasks before it. These tasks are even more difficult owing to the fact that the League itself is only recently

coming into the position where it can successfully tackle the tremendous work that lies before it. In our country the task is not only to broaden the activities of the League thru the application of new methods, but just as much to really utilize the old methods of which only a beginning has been made. We must develop an organization capable of carrying out our tasks—old and new. At the same time we must make every effort to adopt special methods for working among the American youth.

Already at the last convention of the League, these difficulties began to be evident. The convention declared that the League "is in no sense a mass organization" but the significance of these words was lost in the smoke of the factional struggle and the concrete measures for changing this situation were not even discussed. The plenum has strengthened this analysis. "We have in the United States a League which, due to its composition and activities is completely separated from the masses of the American young workers and is a sect, and therefore, does not comply with the requirements of a young workers' mass organization." Only by facing the facts, by looking realities in the face can we obtain solutions for our problems, and no amount of exaggeration or of picture painting can cover the sectarian nature of the League and the difficulties which it faces.

#### THE POSITION OF THE YOUNG WORKERS IN AMERICA

The fundamental task of the League is to set the young workers in motion. In the carrying out of this task it will be able to develop its own organization and influence. Without the beginning of movement in the direction of the working class struggle on the part of the young workers, the development of the Communist mass organization of the youth in America is impossible. America, the only country which emerged stronger as a result of the war, is at present enjoying the profits from the exploitation of millions of workers not merely within its own boundaries, and not merely in backward countries, but also in the so-called civilized countries like Germany, Italy, etc. As a result, capitalism is still powerful, still on the up-grade and still exerts an almost exclusive influence on the workers, especially on the young workers. The young workers, who have no experience in the class struggle, readily fall under the influence of the numerous bourgeois organizations, the tremendous state apparatus at the disposal of the capitalist class and every other means of influencing the minds of the workers that modern development makes possible, and which is still the monopoly of the capitalists. On the other hand, even in America, the young workers are the most exploited section of the working class, receive the lowest wages, work the longest hours and have the poorest conditions. No amount of bourgeois propaganda can do away with this fact. The tasks of the League, therefore, altho very difficult, are founded in objective conditions which lend themselves to our work. By proper utilization of our forces, by making use of every opportunity for strengthening our contact with the young workers, by initiative and elasticity in our work, by close adhesion to the line of the Y. C. I., will we be able to overcome all difficulties and emerge triumphant.

This can be accomplished only thru activities that will set the young workers into action. Any step in this direction must be welcomed and it will be the duty of the League not to be the only organization to take this step, but to urge and work for other organizations to do so

also. Especially important are broad representative youth conferences as well as campaigns for the unionization of the youth, into which the trade unions must be drawn. The organization of workers' sports, struggle against child labor, against militarism—all these must also be utilized for this purpose. The League will grow in the degree in which it succeeds in awakening the young workers out of their apathy and make them think as workers.

#### DISCOVER AMERICA!

The League must strike out along new ways. It must become an American League, both in composition and in activity. We have had only too many experiences in the past to demonstrate to us the necessity for these steps. The tendency manifested by certain comrades only recently against the election of committees by youth conferences, a tendency that leads to the immediate reduction of these conferences to the Communists and their immediate sympathizers, is only one indication of the sectarianism which is still prevalent, even in the leading strata of the League. The failure of the League to react to important youth events in America, its lack of knowledge of the conditions of the young workers, its ignorance of the strength of its enemies are indications that the League is not an American League. It still has the task before it of "discovering America" politically.

On the question of the election of committees by youth conferences, the resolution on the American question is very emphatic. "Young Workers' Conferences shall be organized on an extensive manner. At these conferences, the election of committees shall not be neglected." An again, "The most important form of United Front tactics in the United States today is the organization of broad youth conferences and the election of committees thru them." Further, not only at general youth conferences, but also at trade union youth conferences, the election of committees is absolutely essential to gain the benefits of the conference. "Also the trade unions and Central Labor Councils shall be urged, particularly in connection with the unionization campaign, to organize youth conferences at which campaign committees shall be elected."

#### GREATER INITIATIVE!

Hitherto, the League has shown great reluctance to solve its problems on its own initiative, to adapt itself to the American conditions, and to broaden itself to become more attractive to the young workers. The plenum emphasized, for all Leagues, but especially for the American League, which has problems so different from the problems of the other Leagues, the necessity for greater initiative, greater elasticity, and less fear of approaching the young workers. "The Young Workers' League must be a broad and open organization, accessible for all young workers. It must understand how to apply broad and flexible methods and forms in all activities." And further, "the League must show greater initiative in developing the special means of approach to the American young workers."

#### THE LEAGUE AND THE PARTY

A word to the Party members and to the adult workers. The Comintern has laid down that a proper attitude toward the youth is one

of the characteristics of a Bolshevik Party. Altho this has been recognized by all in theory, it has not yet been carried out in practice. The last plenum has again emphasized this matter. "The creation of a Party core in the League, and the attraction of Party members into active work among the youth remains the precondition to a correct relation with the Party." Altho the Social-Democrats have never had a proper attitude toward the youth and have in fact endeavored to exclude the young workers from the struggle, they have known how to maintain their hold on the young workers organizationally. Even at the present time, the S. P. in America is realizing the necessity for winning the youth and is making strenuous efforts to do so thru the unions, Workmen's Circle, etc. It is the duty of the Communists and left wingers to help draw the youth into the revolutionary movement, thus strengthening the struggle against the capitalists, and to build the organization of the revolutionary youth, the Young Workers' (Communist) League. The hold of the bourgeoisie on the youth must be broken, and the adult workers must use all their strength to help in this task.

Without doubt, for the American League, the last plenum has been one of the most important, if not the most important session of the Young Communist International. From this point on, the activities of the Young Workers' (Communist) League, if in line with the decisions made at this plenum, will take on a new form and the League will start on the road to becoming a mass organization of the Communist youth, worthy of taking its place besides its brother Leagues, especially the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. It remains now for the comrades to throw themselves into the work, to drive the movement forward and to make these decisions levers for the conquest of the American working youth.

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The amalgamation of the Young Peoples Socialist League of America (YIPSELS) with the YCL was a united front from below maneuver. That is, certain militants revolted against the old guard which dominated the Socialist Party. During the years 1928-34 and especially toward the end of that period, those who united with the Communists had to accept their complete revolutionary program. And that is exactly what the militants did. From 1932 to 1936, the American Socialist Party was torn asunder over the question of violent overthrow of government.<sup>1</sup> Relentlessly and successfully, the Communists pursued their tactic of rule or ruin.

#### EXHIBIT No. 72

[*Inprecorr*, December 15, 1933. P. 1264]

### PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT—MILITANT YOUNG SOCIALISTS JOIN Y. C. L. OF U. S. A.

By Sol Larks (New York)

Immediately following the close of the national convention of the Young People's Socialist League of America, the "left-wing" delegation of the Chicago Y. P. S. L. announced their decision to join the Young Communist League as a group.

Included among these new recruits to Communism are George Smerkin, national secretary of the Y. P. S. L., who was removed from

<sup>1</sup> O'neal and Werner, *American Communism*, pp. 287-291. Waldman, *Labor Lawyer*, pp. 193-207, 258-271.

office for participation in the Free Tom Mooney Congress, and Sol Larks, former national director of the Y. P. S. L., and editor of the "Class Struggle," "left-wing" socialist organ, who was expelled for united front activity.

The growth of a leftward moving group among the socialist youth was observable as early as July, 1932, when the last convention of the Y. P. S. L. met at Cleveland, Ohio. Here a strong minority, under the leadership of the Chicago delegation, battled for unconditional endorsement, support, and defence of the Soviet Union; the "left-wing" being defeated on this question by only 27-24. The majority resolution, as carried, hypocritically offered support on the basis of the call of the L. S. I. The "left," similarly, on the question of imperialist war, raised the slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." being defeated here 51-26.

Shortly afterward, the "left-wing" paper, "Class Struggle," made its appearance, waging a struggle against the reformist leadership of the S. P.

From the period October, 1932, and onward, the organisation of the Y. P. S. L. in Chicago, under the control of the "left-wing" group, participated in numerous effective united front actions, initiated by the Young Communist League. The first of these was the historic October hunger march, when 50,000 workers poured into the streets in a tremendous demonstration against the proposed 50 per cent. relief cut. This great mass protest forced the immediate withdrawal of the relief cut. The Socialist Party was forced to participate in this united front by the combined pressure of the socialist-controlled unemployed groups and the "left-wing" Y. P. S. L. It is interesting to note that the socialist executive, after voting to split the workers' front, was forced to re-enter, at which time the county secretary of the S. P., Adolph Dreifuss, made the significant statement: "Unless we enter the united front, we will lose the entire younger section of the Party."

Numerous other and successful united front actions were initiated by the Young Communist League and accepted by the Y. P. S. L., including a bread strike, and unemployed demonstrations.

Shortly after this, the Communist Party initiated the drive for one united May Day, and made united front proposals to the S.P. and Y.P.S.L. The Y.P.S.L. city executive committee and district membership meetings unanimously endorsed this call for unity, and demanded that the S.P. do likewise. The S.P. executive, as usual attempted to manœuvre, and appointed an "information committee," to meet with the C.P. At the May Day conference, called by the S.P., the Y.P.S.L. delegation exposed this manœuvre and called for unity.

This, of course, sealed the fate of the "Left-wing" group in the Y.P.S.L. Four leading comrades (half of the Y.P.S.L. executive were expelled immediately, on the charge of "casting aspersions" on the S.P. The four were Ed. Weiner, Sylvia Arnstein, Lila Wolman, and Sol Larks. Upon the refusal of the membership to accept these expulsions, all circle and city charters were suspended by the national committee, and the majority of the active membership were expelled.

The "Left-wing" group carried their fight to the national convention of the Y.P.S.L. at Reading, Pennsylvania, August 26, and issued a draft statement to the convention which sharply criticised

the S.P. leadership, pointing out among other things that the "national executive committee sabotaged the Free Tom Mooney Congress," and in diverse ways was hampering the struggle for unity. This draft was signed by over 130 members, including many lower functionaries.

At the convention itself, the McDowell-Umansky reformists, so-called "militants," combined to prevent the Chicago appeal from being heard.

Rank and file agitation forced the leadership to give the floor to George Smerkin, expelled national secretary. Smerkin sharply attacked the leadership of the S.P. and called for unity in action. In spite of the extreme terror worked up against the "Lefts," 10 per cent. of the delegates voted against the splitting report of the national executive.

The motion to give the floor to the Chicago delegation was defeated by 72-23. At this point, the "Left-wing" raised sharply the question of hearing Gil Green, representing the national committee of the Young Communist League. The Umansky-McDowell group frantically opposed this, but were only able to defeat the motion by 61-50. Because they feared the "Left-wing" so much, the leadership deliberately sabotaged the entire convention. As a result, only one resolution was adopted, while the main programmatic resolutions on the National Industrial Recovery Act, on the Soviet Union, Scottsboro, Mooney, War, etc., were referred to the incoming national executive without a word of discussion.

The elections were significant also. Both candidates for national chairman, McDowell and Levenstein, were well-known opportunists. McDowell is the bloodhound who, like Noske, undertook the task of liquidating the revolt of the Chicago Y.P.S.L.

The "Left-wing" caucused immediately after the convention, and it was here that the Chicago delegation announced their intention of joining the Young Communist League.

Since these occurrences there have been further indications of the same trend. In Cleveland, Ohio, four active young socialists have joined the Y.C.L.

In Taylor Springs, Illinois, in the heart of the coal-mining district of Southern Illinois, a group of militant young socialists swept the municipal election and captured several offices some months ago.

This entire Taylor Springs group has now joined the Young Communist League, and thus the only socialist elected officials in the State of Illinois, and the only members of the Young People's Socialist League holding public office in the U. S. A. as well, are now in the Communist ranks.

All these developments show clearly the depth of the crisis in the United States, and also the effectiveness and correctness of the united front tactics of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

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According to the Sixth World Congress, wars were either good or bad depending upon how the Socialist fatherland regarded them (sec. C., exhibit No. 13). Naturally, every active Communist party tried to promote the right kind of anti-militarism in its own country. Naturally also, this antimilitarist agitation had to be directed primarily at the youth of the nation. The present exhibit describes one pre-Seventh World Congress mobilization against war. But there were many others.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matthews, *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveller*, pp. 97-110.



## EXHIBIT No. 73

[Inprecorr, March 30, 1935. pp. 390-391]

THE MOBILISATION OF THE UNIVERSITY YOUTH IN THE U. S. A.  
AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

By B. Francis

The United States is among those countries in which the university and college Youth, severely hit by the crisis, occupy a prominent position in the social movements.

Good preparations were carried out in the U. S. A. for the World Congress of Students in Brussels, which was held at the end of last year, both in regard to the general propaganda for the Congress and the extension of the anti-fascist united front among the students.

After the Congress of Brussels the anti-fascist movement made great progress among the students. Committees for struggle against war and fascism were set up at the various universities; those formed at the universities of Illinois and Columbia are able to record great achievements. In Columbia the committee issued an appeal to a great number of students' organisations against a campaign conducted by the Casa Italiana, the headquarters of Italian fascism in the U. S. A. Pickets were placed in front of this house and the fascists who entered it were booed. The anti-fascist students of the university of Ohio organised a big meeting on behalf of the nine Scottsboro Negro boys and sent a resolution of protest to the Supreme Court of the U. S. A.

In order to realise the united front between the workers and the intellectuals the anti-fascist students of the colleges in Brooklyn and New York City supported the strike of the employees of two large cafés in New York against the wage cut by placing strike pickets at their disposal. A great crowd gathered in order to support the student pickets, and collisions with the police occurred. Anti-fascist students also took their places in the picket line in support of the strike of the employees of the Ohrbach big department stores, on February 28.

The experience won by the American students in their joint struggle with the workers has shown them the effectiveness of the methods of struggle employed by the workers. The actions of the students are more and more assuming the form of strikes to enforce their demands.

At present the students are preparing for a general strike on April 12 (anniversary of America's entry into the war) against the militarisation of the Youth, for the economic demands of the students, against America's intervention in Cuba's struggle for independence, etc. A strike committee has been set up which, under the leadership of the American section of the Students' World Committee, includes representatives not only of the National Students' League, the Student League of Industrial Democracy, and the Youth section for the struggle against war and fascism, but also representatives of the National Committee of the Methodist Youth (with one million members), the Christian Students' Movement, the National Student League and the American Youth Congress.

In view of this all-embracing composition of the strike committee it is expected that at least 100,000 university students and about 20,000 college students, will demonstrate in the streets on April 12.

The students of the United States at the same time show the way to the extension of the front of anti-fascist struggle at the universities and the possibility of drawing pacifist, Christian and other students into the struggles against war and fascism, as suggested in the directives issued by the World Congress of Students at Brussels.

Otto Kuusinen was one of Stalin's more "trusted" Comintern agents. In November 1939, he was put in charge of the Moscow organized Peoples Government in Finland.

In the following report, Kuusinen complimented the YCL for having finally shaken off its excessive left sectarianism which went out of fashion with the Seventh World Congress introduction of the new look. At the same time, he insisted that concessions, elasticity and such like were definitely not the ultimate Communist objective. The final paragraphs of Kuusinen's report emphatically reiterated *The Program* of the Sixth World Congress with regard to imperialist war.

Louis Budenz has observed how some American comrades preferred to ignore the final section of Kuusinen's report.<sup>1</sup> And according to William Z. Foster, most of the blame for that kind of revisionism must be put upon Earl Browder who misled the party into being overly American.<sup>2</sup>

The April 1936 student strikes (exhibit No. 75) represented a very mild warmup for what the comrades hoped to achieve whenever the "objective situation" demanded it.

#### EXHIBIT No. 74

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, November 1935. O. Kuusinen, *Youth and Fascism*. Pp. 14-19, 28-30]

#### THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The experiences recently gained by the *Young Communist League of the U.S.A.* are also highly instructive.

These matters began with the calling of a general congress of the youth organizations of the country as a result of the wide organizational initiative displayed by a fascist group, with the support of the government. The Young Communist League was faced by the question of whether it should send its representatives to this congress or not. It is not surprising that opinion within the Young Communist League should have been divided on so novel a question.

A few years earlier a question of this kind would in all probability have been settled even without discussion: any participation would have been rejected, and our Young Communist League would probably have received such a sectarian decision with self-complacency, as the best solution to a difficult question. But now this question was discussed in the Young Communist League, and it turned out that the comrades who were opposed to participating in the congress had very poor arguments to offer. "We are afraid that we are too weak to put up a stand against such powerful forces", they said.

You see, comrades, how the old sectarianism, which has so often taken the shape of exaggerated self-assertion, on this occasion, when a great practical task demanded a clear and bold decision, revealed itself as a *lack* of confidence in our own forces, in the leading role of the working class youth.

The leaders of the Young Communist League of the United States, headed by Comrade Green, brushed this faint-hearted argument

<sup>1</sup> Budenz, *My Story*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 330-339.

aside, rolled up their sleeves and went to the congress, at which an extremely variegated group of young people from most diverse strata was assembled. Our American comrades achieved a great success at this youth congress. The agents of fascism were completely isolated, and the congress was transformed into a great united front congress of the radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority at it. This authoritative position was due to the confidence which they had gained by their new mass policy, and also to the fact that they had learned to approach and conduct the work in the right way.

What did they learn concretely?

First, they learned *soberly to estimate the degree of radicalization of the youth masses*, that is, to estimate it correctly, without "Right" under-valuations and without "Left" over-valuations.

Previously, many comrades had too simple an idea of the matter, and believed that once a radicalization of the toiling masses and an upsurge of the mass movement had begun—which was actually the case in America—it could be "stamped" without further ado a real "revolutionary" upsurge and one had only then to look up the program of the Young Communist International for the revolutionary slogans that should be issued in such a situation and the revolutionary tasks that should be undertaken.

Our American young comrades now learned that although a great process of radicalization and activization of the youth masses had indeed set in in the United States, these masses—indeed even their most active representatives—still did not understand the most ordinary Communist slogans, battle cries and demands. They did not even understand so "simple" a thing as fascism. This had first to be explained to them in a popular way. And even when they grasped that fascism is an enemy, it was found that many of them considered it quite in order when the Hearst press issued the cry, "Against Communism and Fascism!" They failed to observe that genuine American fascist agitation was being carried on under this treacherous guise. They had to be convinced in the most patient manner possible of the true state of affairs, without our own opinion being *forced on them*. Whereupon it was discovered for instance, that many of those who were already prepared to join with the Young Communist League in the fight against the war danger and fascism could still not be gotten to take part in street demonstrations. They were entirely unaccustomed to this method of struggle, and one had at first to join with them in other, more elementary forms of struggle, which could be regarded by the members of their organizations as their *own* forms of struggle, in order later, as their fighting spirit grew, to lead them *further*.

Second, our American young comrades convinced themselves that they indeed *had a lot to learn from the non-Communist masses*.

For instance, they learnt "a new language", the fresh, concrete, popular and expressive language of youth—the language which Comrade Dimitroff had demanded—in place of the old, dry, stereotyped argon which is almost incomprehensible to the normal human mind. Comrade Green has explained how, in connection with the youth congress, they succeeded in framing the highly important "Declaration of Rights of the American Youth" in the language of youth:

" . . . We did all in our power to see to it that as many youth and their organizations as possible were drawn in to help formulate and finalize this document."

And he added:

"By working in this manner we did not weaken the prestige of the Y. C. L. but strengthened it; we showed large numbers of youth that the Y. C. L. had no narrow interests but that its main concern was to broaden the youth congress and make it the most effective mass movement against reaction and for the immediate needs of the youth."

In particular, the representatives of the American Young Communist League have learnt from the masses how to approach the *non-proletarian* strata of the youth correctly. Formerly, many members of the Young Communist League looked down, for instance, on the student youth, and thereby, of course, made it difficult to set up closer contacts with them. This was also an expression of sectarianism and had to be eliminated from the ranks of the Communist youth movement. If the representatives of the Young Communist League of the United States had not known how to approach the student youth in a comradely fashion, it would have been impossible for them to have developed their great united front actions among the students, the most important of which was the big students' strike against war and fascism on April 12, 1935, in which 184,000 students took part.

Third, the American young comrades have also learned to overcome their former inflexibility in tactics and to apply *elastic tactics*.

Comrade Green has quoted two characteristic examples of this. The first example is that the religious members of the congress, who were at first particularly skeptical of the possibility of a united front with the Communists, on Sunday morning were given the opportunity of the private enjoyment of divine service. The second example is that the Roosevelt project for making provision for the youth by an appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the purpose of immediate assistance to the youth, on the initiative of our comrades was not labeled demagogic, but rather credited as a *concession* which the government was obliged to make in view of the growing united front movement. At the same time, the leaders of the youth united front exposed the utter inadequacy of this measure and also pointed out how the government's plan threatened to impair the condition of certain sections of the youth. Comrade Green was quite right when he summarized the results of these tactics in the following terms:

"Thus it turns this project of Roosevelt from a weapon against the Youth Congress into an instrument for mobilizing the youth for increased government aid."

Here you see the same result as in France; you see how the sword was wrested from the hand of the enemy and turned against him.

Fourth, the comrades of the Young Communist League of the United States have learned that it is essential to enter the *big youth organizations* led by the *bourgeoisie*. And not only that, they have also learned how to work in these organizations.

Formerly, such bourgeois youth organizations were simply counted by the Young Communists among the enemy organizations, and their millions of members were without more ado regarded as "enemies".

The fact was ignored that in the United States—and not only there—the *great majority of the toiling youth* belong to such organizations. You must not think that the majority of the youth are unor-

ganized. No, in many countries the majority are organized, and not only in the army, not only in the schools—they too are bourgeois organizations—but directly in these bourgeois youth organizations. But even after we really began to say that we must work within the ranks of these organizations, this work was understood in an entirely sectarian way as so-called “destructive work”. Now, “destructive work” in this sphere was so little in place, that it is not to be regretted that, as was mostly the case, it simply remained on paper.

The American young comrades are speaking from experience when they say today that we must work in these mass organizations not with the purpose of destroying or weakening them, but to work “to transform them from centers of bourgeois influence into centers of united front struggle, into centers of proletarian influence.” The mass of the youth regard these organizations as their own, and only by earnestly working to represent the needs and interests of the youth through these organizations can we extend our influence among the masses.

In these organizations our American young comrades have discovered a large number of functionaries and cadres who are prepared to fight side by side with the Communists against reaction, and in the course of not quite a year the Young Communist League in the United States has succeeded in creating 175 fractions in these mass organizations. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, these are only a few—not all—of the positive experiences gained by the Young Communist League of the United States in the course of the work recently carried on by our American young comrades.

How else can we resist the imperialist warmongers?

We want to attack our class enemies in the rear, when they start the war against the Soviet Union. But how can we do so if the majority of the toiling youth follow not us, but, for instance, the Catholic priests or the liberal chameleons?

We often repeat the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. In itself, the slogan is a good one, but it becomes an empty and dangerous phrase if we do nothing serious in advance to create a united youth front. (*Loud applause*)

We need a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as our Parties, and a united youth front hundreds of times broader still. That this is entirely possible in many countries is shown by the achievements of our French and American young comrades.

Only if we undertake and press this work everywhere with the greatest possible energy, only if we achieve really important successes in this work, shall we be able to say that we are preparing the masses in a Bolshevik way against the event of an imperialist war.

“You will be given a gun. Take it and learn well the art of war. This is necessary for the proletarians, not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries . . . but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by a victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming them.”

If our Parties and our youth carry on the fight against war in this spirit, there can be no doubt that in a number of countries the counter-revolutionary imperialist war will lead to revolution, and that by the

end of this world war many a Goering will present as pitiful a picture as van de Lubbe did in Leipzig. (*Loud applause.*)

*Long live the Bolshevik youth!*

*Long live the glorious Soviet fatherland!*

*Long live the great leader of the world proletariat—Stalin!*  
(*Loud and prolonged applause. All stand amidst cries of "Red Front!" "Hurrah!" and "Brazai!" The "Junge Garde", "Carmagnole" and other revolutionary songs are sung.*)

#### WORK IN BOURGEOIS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Is the work which the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. has initiated so successfully within the ranks of the bourgeois mass organizations possible and necessary only in the United States?

Of course not. It is equally possible in many other countries, if not in the same forms. In Great Britain, our comrades have begun something similar, although in different forms. Or, more exactly, they are only just beginning; they are considerably belated. In the Scandinavian countries, our comrades are so late in starting that they even still have not seriously set themselves this task.

Naturally, in the fascist countries this work has to be carried on differently from the way it is carried on under legal conditions. Comrade Dimitroff has very excellently shown you this in his brilliant comparison with the Trojan horse.

But these tactics must be applied not only in the fascist countries, but also in many colonial countries, for instance, in China. You know that our Chinese young comrades in the Soviet regions have performed truly legendary deeds of heroism. In the regions where fighting is going on they understand in a masterly fashion also how to pursue the tactics characterized by the comparison with the Trojan horse. But in the White regions, where the Kuomintang terror is raging, it is precisely in these tactics that they are weak. The heroism of our young Chinese comrades is testified to by the prominent French writer, André Malraux, who went to China and there recorded in his descriptions the its own efforts have also given the Party leadership a better understanding of the role and needs of the Young Communist League. [*sic in original*].

But *all Communist Parties*, all leaders of the Communist Parties must understand once for all that the youth movement is the *heart* of the movement for social emancipation. Our youth, our hopes, are growing. But they would grow ten times faster if the Party leadership earnestly helped the Young Communist Leagues and if they assigned really capable forces to assist the youth. Some leaders of our youth movement have during the past few years grown to the stature of real youth leaders. But it will not do for every functionary of a Young Communist League who has proved himself to be a capable worker in the youth movement to be immediately taken away from this work by the leadership of the Party, as is now often the case.

Of course, the Young Communist League is among other things a school of cadres for the Party. But a school that is robbed of every capable teacher and leader is of no value. (*Stormy applause*)

Comrades, *the second imperialist world war is approaching*. Preparations are being made for the most criminal of all criminal wars—a counter-revolutionary imperialist attack on the Soviet country, the fatherland of the workers of all countries.

Well, we know that this war—as Comrade Stalin said—will be a most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. But whom the gods would destroy, they first make blind.

The ruling bourgeoisie is steering towards a most dangerous military adventure. In many countries, it has already selected stone-blind and insane adventurers as “leaders”, and has turned over the government to their bands.

Perhaps the German bourgeoisie does not deserve better leaders, but the world must be protected against the frenzy of such leaders.

The Japanese military leaders are “apostles of peace” (as General Araki called himself and his accomplices) not less dangerous to the common weal. In Poland, too, it is not political wisdom that stands at the helm of government; and British imperialism, insatiable in its lust for conquest, is prepared to support, directly or indirectly, any adventurist government in a war against the Soviet country. They are all from various ends and corners driving the world into a new massacre of the peoples. Hence the menace of war.

Well, all this does not frighten us. But it demands an earnest and energetic mobilization of the toiling population for the purpose of resisting, for combatting the war preparations of the bourgeoisie; it demands that the millions of members of the younger generation must be summoned for the united front.

#### EXHIBIT No. 75

[*Inprecorr*, May 30, 1936. Pp. 678-679]

### UNITED STATES—THE STUDENT STRIKE

By Adam Lapin (New York)

The student anti-war strike in the United States on April 22, under the leadership of the American Student Union, fulfilled in actual numbers even the wildest expectations of its sponsors. Some 500,000 students participated, according to letters and telegrams received in the office of the Student Union. This figure was also accepted by the Associated Press, largest and most conservative of American news agencies.

Colleges and universities provided 350,000 of the strikers. The remaining 150,000 were in High Schools. The largest number to strike in any single city was about 90,000 in New York. The greatest gains over previous strikes were in the South, which in former years had been almost untouched by such movements. Not only were many important white universities involved, but thousands of Negro students in Negro colleges in the South took part in the strike.

Important schools in every section of the country were out on strike, even the supposedly highly conservative schools with aristocratic traditions in New England and other Eastern sections. High schools in the squalid slums of New York took part in the strike at the same time as students on the secluded and cultured campuses of Princeton and Harvard Universities. While 3,500 City College students in New York were attending a strike meeting, 5,000 on the beautiful campus of the University of California at Berkeley were on strike.

On April 13, 1934, the first strike took place under the joint auspices of the National Student League, led largely by Communists, and the

Student League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist organisation. A few months before the strike these two organisations had concluded a united front pact, and the strike was their first ambitious demonstration on a nation-wide scale. Although the total membership of the two groups was no more than 7,000, the number of students to answer their strike call totalled 25,000. The first student strike indicated the possibilities of united front action on a national scale, and it introduced into the arena of the anti-war movement in America a new weapon.

In the second student strike, on April 12, 1935, the number participating was 185,000. This time the united front had been extended to include several new organisations, among which were the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Inter-seminary Council, and the American Youth Congress, that federation of student and youth organisations. The second student strike was the greatest success, up to that time, of the student anti-war movement.

The third student strike, this year, showed an even more startling growth of anti-war sentiment among students. Within one year the number of participants was almost tripled. The leadership of the American Student Union was undoubtedly one of the chief factors making the success of the strike possible.

During the year between the second and third student strikes this new organisation had entered the field as a result of the merger of the two previous organisations which claimed the allegiance of the militant students. The National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy merged with other groups in December, 1935, and formed a new united body which represented a coalition of Communists, Socialists and Liberals. For the first time, with the formation of the American Student Union, all students had a common focal point for their adherence and loyalty.

Another factor was the adhesion of schools where students had previously heard of the strike, but had not taken part before. Perhaps the largest single group of new strikers came from the high schools where the student movement has been notoriously weak in comparison with the colleges, but where the American Student Union has recently made great strides.

The intensified danger of world war, as brought home by the war preparations of Germany and of Japan, and by the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, made clear to tens of thousands of students not only the imminence of war, but also the danger to themselves and the necessity for action.

One of the most dramatic examples of the growth of this sentiment is that provided by the "Veterans of Future Wars," an organisation started by a student at Princeton University to fight against the payment of the bonus to veterans of the World War, by demanding, in a spirit of ridicule, payment of a bonus now to the soldiers of the future. In its origin the "Veterans of Future Wars" had no affinity to the student anti-war movement.

Then the idea of the "Veterans of Future Wars" caught the imagination of students everywhere. The "Veterans of Future Wars" began to express the biting sarcasm of the students against war and the forces making for war. Ridicule of the veterans demanding their promised bonus became transformed into ridicule of the bankers, of the munitions makers, of the super-patriots, of the reactionaries.



When the strike came along, the "Veterans of Future Wars" in many schools co-operated whole-heartedly with the American Student Union. In many cases their hearty humour added colour and "punch" to the demonstrations. This took place despite the unwillingness of the national leaders of the "Veterans of Future Wars" to have any contact with the strike.

Finally, the scope of the strike was enlarged by a change in the tactics of the majority of school administrations. Previously they had fought bitterly against the strike, treating it as lack of discipline, or worse. This year they permitted the strike to go unhindered in most cases, and sometimes even lent it public approval. Probably the most important reason for the school administrations' change was the growth of student anti-war sentiment and the resulting pressure on the school heads. But in many schools, administrators themselves felt impressed by the danger of war, and were animated by a sincere desire to co-operate with the striking students.

On the whole the programme of the strike was excellent. It emphasised the need for fighting against the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration. One of its chief demands was a slogan calling for the abolition of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the prevalent form of military training in the schools. As a step toward the total abolition of the R. O. T. C., the strike call urged the passage by Congress of the Nye-Kvale bill, which revokes the compulsory features of military training in schools.

The strike call took cognisance of the danger of war against the Soviet Union, by attack from either Germany or Japan. One of its main slogans stated, "War anywhere means war everywhere," stressing the indivisibility of peace.

It is hardly a coincidence that the leaders of the American Student Union were informed the day after the strike that there would probably be no hearings on the Nye-Kvale bill, and that the day after the strike the news appeared that a bill had unanimously passed the lower house of the federal congress setting up a Reserve Air Training Corps, and establishing an air division for the training of students.

Why is it that the government was able, during the very course of the strike action, during the sweep of its preparations and at the high point of its actual execution, to defy the admittedly powerful student movement?

The fact is, and this goes for the entire student anti-war movement, that there is an inability to translate the sentiment, and even the action, of the students for peace into terms of concrete proposals and specific achievements in the United States.

In the case of the present strike, it is true that one of the major slogans was the abolition of military training in the schools, but this slogan did not become the focal point of the preparations for the strike in most schools.

There was stressed the idea that the strike was a dress rehearsal for the future, that it was an indication of what students would do when war would break out, that it expressed the determination of the students to disrupt the entire school system when it again becomes incorporated in the war machine.

Together with this idea, there was also stressed, especially by members of the Young People's Socialist Society, the idea that the most important present action of the student anti-war movement was

adhesion to the Oxford Pledge, which states, in this country, that "we will support no war undertaken by the United States government."

But it seems hardly necessary to point out that a pledge of that sort is hardly sufficient in times of actual crisis. It is hardly necessary to say that a dress rehearsal is all the more effective if it is capable of scoring immediate results.

Yet these obvious considerations were not always kept in mind by the organisers of the student strike.

A serious problem brought to the fore by the success of the strike action is the still comparatively small membership of the American Student Union. One of the most important tasks of the A. S. U. is winning to membership those thousands and tens of thousands of students who are admittedly in sympathy with its aims, and are willing to follow it in action.

What must be emphasised again and again, in any discussion of the student strike in the United States is: First, that it is the most magnificent action of the anti-war movement among students, and that it is an inspiration to the anti-war movement throughout the country, both among youth and adults; and, secondly, that the student anti-war strike was made possible only by the success of the united front, and by the formation of a united American Student Union.

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If the boys from the Communist National Training School faithfully followed Dimitrov's technique of combining practice with theory, they were adequately prepared for armed insurrection (sec. D., exhibit No. 6). All talk about national traditions, Democratic Front, and similar things was strictly a temporary expedient.

#### EXHIBIT No. 76.

[*World News and Views*, November 26, 1938. P. 1288]

#### AMERICAN YOUNG COMMUNISTS WRITE TO DIMITROFF

*A number of American Students sent the following letter to Comrade Dimitroff*

DEAR COMRADE DIMITROFF,—We, the students of the *National Training School* of the Young Communist League send you revolutionary greetings in the name of our movement here.

This school is the first National one held since the worldwide Communist movement adopted the People's Front policy. At this time you told the delegates of the Young Communist International that the main function of Communist youth must be to build a broad, united, anti-fascist movement among all youth.

We are proud that the first steps had already been taken in the United States. Since then, we have worked to advance these beginnings. In some respects we have succeeded; in others, we have made mistakes; from these, as Communists, we have learned new lessons. Now, through all these experiences, one thing stands out: the millions of American youth can and are being won for the struggle of democracy against fascism.

Our school bears the name of the *Stone Brothers*, three young Americans who with so many others went to Spain because they believed the struggle for democracy was world-wide. Two lie buried

there, together with *Dave Doran* and so many others of our leaders; one still lives. The Stone Brothers typify the rank and file of our American youth, and carried high for all of us the banner of our revolutionary traditions here.

*Lenin* advised the youth to learn. Everyday, we are finding out the real meaning of scientific revolutionary theory, and how to apply it to our practical work. To-day that means: How can we build the democratic front among the youth.

We learn not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but the true significance of such leaders of American democracy as *Thomas Jefferson*, *Patrick Henry* and *Abraham Lincoln*. We sing, not only the songs we have learned in our Communist movement, but the folk songs and ballads that have remained in the hearts of our people. Our daily life teaches us how to bring our message to the youth, for we are here from all parts of the United States, girls and boys who are just like millions of other young Americans. We are proud that three of us have just returned from the battlefields of Spain, where all that we learn here is being proved in action.

♦ Soon this school will be over, and we will return to wherever we work; we know the task that faces us: it is not easy, but we are confident that with the knowledge, this science, we have a tool with which to measure and overcome all difficulties, and as Communists, we set ourselves to this task.

We could not end without saying something of what you stand for personally in our minds and hearts. Both as the fighter in the courtroom of Leipzig and the outstanding leader of the Communist International, you symbolise the role of all Bolsheviki: courageous fighters because they combine the science of theory with practice.

We pledge ourselves to live up to the standards you have set for Communist leadership, by building a *Democratic Front* in America which will smash all fascist tendencies and lead us from democracy to Socialism.

Comradely yours,

*Stone Brothers, N. T. S.*  
(27 signatures follow.)

In April 1940, the American Youth Congress condemned President Roosevelt for sending Finland a few million dollars in aid. Naturally, antimilitarist agitation became the order of the day. But once the existence of the Bolshevik tyranny was threatened by the Nazi forces, the Communist cry became "Till victory is won, Young America, to your posts!"<sup>1</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 77

[*World News and Views*, April 6, 1940. P. 217].

### WORLD YOUTH MOVEMENT

#### AMERICAN YOUTH IN POLITICS

The *American Youth Congress* has just come through a momentous battle for its existence and its programme, and it has opened a new chapter of its history. It is a story worth telling.

The American Youth Congress is an organisation representing a variety of youth organisations, some religious, some political, some

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Worker*, December, 12, 1941, p. 6.

athletic, cultural and social. It is a product of the depression years, and it has made an effort to deal with some of the problems confronting youth: unemployment, social security, civil rights, education and vocational training. In the past its programme has received some attention from the Roosevelt Government, and the New Deal made some steps in the direction of overcoming the difficulties of unemployment among youth, lack of minimum wage laws for young people and deficiencies in vocational training.

The abandonment of the New Deal by the Roosevelt Administration has produced a crisis in the fortunes of the Youth Congress. Like many other organisations supporting the New Deal, it had to decide whether it preferred Roosevelt or its programme. The decision was soon taken to stick by its programme. It is not hard to see why this was the case. The *National Youth Administration*, a United States Government agency, reports that there are at present more than 4,000,000 unemployed young people in the country. The recent Budget slashed 72,000,000 dollars from the grants to the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, two of the most important New Deal agencies for assisting unemployed youth. In the past five years the Public Works Administration has done much to alleviate the problem of unemployment generally as well as that of youth. Its appropriation under the new Budget has been cut by 500,000,000 dollars. The assistance given to farmers has been cut by 400,000,000, a reduction which hits the youth from agricultural areas. In short, the Government has abandoned its previous policy (which by no means solved the problem of unemployment) of appropriating a portion of the national income for the purpose of putting the unemployed to work at socially useful labour.

The American Youth Congress has concerned itself with the important question of the civil rights of minorities, particularly the Negroes, who are systematically denied the right to vote or sit on juries in the southern states. An attack has been launched at the already meagre numbers of rights the Negroes possess. In the State of *Mississippi* a law is being advocated to delete from text-books used by Negro school children all mention of voting. In other words, it is proposed to deny Negro youth the right of even knowing that it has a claim to rights. Another point of the youth programme has been challenged.

Finally, there is the question of *war* confronting the youth of the United States. While the Spanish Government was fighting to defend itself from the attacks of Hitler and Mussolini and from the non-intervention of Chamberlain and Blum, the American Government observed a policy of strict neutrality to the point of preventing the Spanish Government from buying arms in America. Immediately upon the outbreak of war the Roosevelt Government reversed this policy and opened the harbours and markets of the United States to the Allies. After having given an assurance that the Government would never permit the loan of money to belligerents, the Congress and the Government have turned their back on this bulwark against American involvement in Europe and have loaned money to Finland. Meanwhile, in the press there is a tremendous propaganda campaign

going on, which much resembles that which preceded the American entry into the last war. The American Youth Congress have taken up the question of foreign policy in the determination that the United States shall not be involved, and the largest chapter of the Congress, the New York Youth Congress, have unanimously voted against loans to Finland or any other European Power.

In the first week of February the Congress opened a *Citizenship Institute* in Washington for the purpose of enabling delegates from youth organisations all over the country to discuss with each other and with the members of the Government and Congress the programme of the Congress and methods of realising it at the present time. The news that such an institute was to meet was the signal for a nation-wide campaign by the reactionary forces in the country to compel the Youth Congress to abandon its programme and support the about-face of the Roosevelt Government. For ten days prior to the meeting the American Youth Congress was front-page news in nearly every paper in the Union. The Hearst press devoted sheets to exposing the Youth Congress as a hot-bed of Red Vice. Catholic archbishops preached sermons on youth and duty. Radio commentators discussed the coming meeting.

The well-worn tactic of reaction was, of course, employed, under the impression that because the Greenwich Village intellectuals always fall for it, American youth would do so too. No effort was made to attack the programme of the Congress itself. Attention was exclusively devoted to the fact that one of the affiliates of the Congress is the *Young Communist League*. The question was asked: "Is this Democracy?", "Is this Americanism?" *John Hamilton*, the Republican Party national organiser, refused to allow the Young Republicans to send a delegation to the Institute on the grounds that the Young Communist League was an agency of Moscow, engaged in plotting the overthrow of the United States Government and Constitution by armed violence. The Congress was urged in news stories and editorial articles from one end of the country to the other to throw out the Young Communists and demonstrate a spirit of Real Americanism. The object of all this was, of course, to secure the expulsion of the Reds and then the abandonment of the Congress programme on the grounds that it was red, too.

The American Youth Congress stood its ground. Its leadership declared that the Citizenship Institute had assembled to discuss the concrete problems of youth, and not whether the Young Communist League was one of the legions of Anti-Christ. They made it absolutely clear that the Young Communist League was entitled to membership in the American Youth Congress so long as it accepted the rules and programme of the Congress. They then proceeded to business.

It soon became apparent that the Roosevelt Administration might have 25,000,000 dollars for Finland, but that it did not have any plans for solving the problem of unemployed youth. *Mr. Roosevelt* made this fact indisputable when he addressed the delegates. He told them they were foolish idealists to think that problems like unemployment could be solved over night, and that they had no business complaining because this was not the first time youth had ever had problems. He then told them that their resolution on the

Finnish loans was twaddle, and ended by saying that the Soviet Union was a barbarous, godless tyranny and that, while everybody was entitled to their own opinions, the Young Communist League had better watch its step.

On the night of October 16, 1943, the leadership of the Young Communist League declared their organization to be dissolved. Whereupon they convened the very next morning to "help" in the establishment of a broader youth movement which took the name of American Youth for Democracy.<sup>1</sup> As the cable from New York makes clear, the avowed objectives of the AYD were sufficiently comprehensive to attract a fair number of innocents.

In January 1945, the AYD came out for universal military training as the only assurance of peaceful coexistence in the postwar world.<sup>2</sup> Seven months later, AYD leaders were informed that talk in favor of universal military training smacked of Browder's unpardonable bourgeois revisionism.<sup>3</sup> Now that the U. S. S. R. was out of danger, the class struggle had to be reactivated with all the fullness of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist rigor.

#### EXHIBIT No. 78

[*World News and Views*, November 13, 1943. P. 364]

#### AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

(By cable from New York)

On October 17, the new American Anti-Fascist Youth Organisation was born as three hundred thirty-two delegates, representing a hundred and ninety Community Clubs and a hundred and fifty guests urged the organising of the Convention initiated by the Y. C. L. and by several score non-Communist youth leaders.

The Convention was called into session immediately following the decision of the Y. C. L. Convention to dissolve the league and decided to name the new organisation "American Youth for Democracy."

It proposed to "Join hands will all youth in opposing everything that is reactionary and oppressive."

Chosen as executive Secretary was Carl Ross, who was chairman of the New York State Committee of the Y. C. L. Secretary-Treasurer is William Robert McCarthy, President of Quincy, Massachusetts, local of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

Members of the National Council of eighty are well-known by delegates. Ninety are prominent Trade Union leaders, and a large majority of the members of the Council are Trade Unionists. Seventeen are leaders of Negro organisations on a national, State and local scale. Others are leaders of Young Women's Christian Association, the Jewish Church and local societies.

The Constitution declares as the object of the organisation that "American Youth for Democracy is a character-building organisation dedicated to education of youth in the spirit of democracy and freedom as set forth in the programme." The programme emphasises that the organisation is devoted to the defense of the nation and the preservation of liberty. It states that it will "work to promote full coalition in warfare, with our Allies, to strengthen national unit in support of our Commander-in-Chief, and our national war effort."

<sup>1</sup> *American Youth for Democracy*, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Cong., 1st sess., April 17, 1947, p. 2. Budenz, *Men Without Faces*, pp. 173-174. DeHuszar, *Social Power*, pp. 318-327.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Ross, "Universal Military Training," *Political Affairs*, January 1945, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 432-437, 448.

It pledges to "resolutely combat treacherous conspiracies of the Fascist leaders and their fifth column."

Labour is regarded as the most progressive social force in modern society and the most consistent fighter against Fascism. Hence the organisation proposes to seek the help of the Labour movement in achieving its objectives, and in turn places itself at the service of the Labour movement. Every phase of youth life, including economic and social security, health, education, recreation, morality and ethics and political life is to be in the province of the new organisation.

It also pledges support to the strivings for national freedom and independence on the part of the youth of Colonial countries.

The programme was unanimously adopted.

